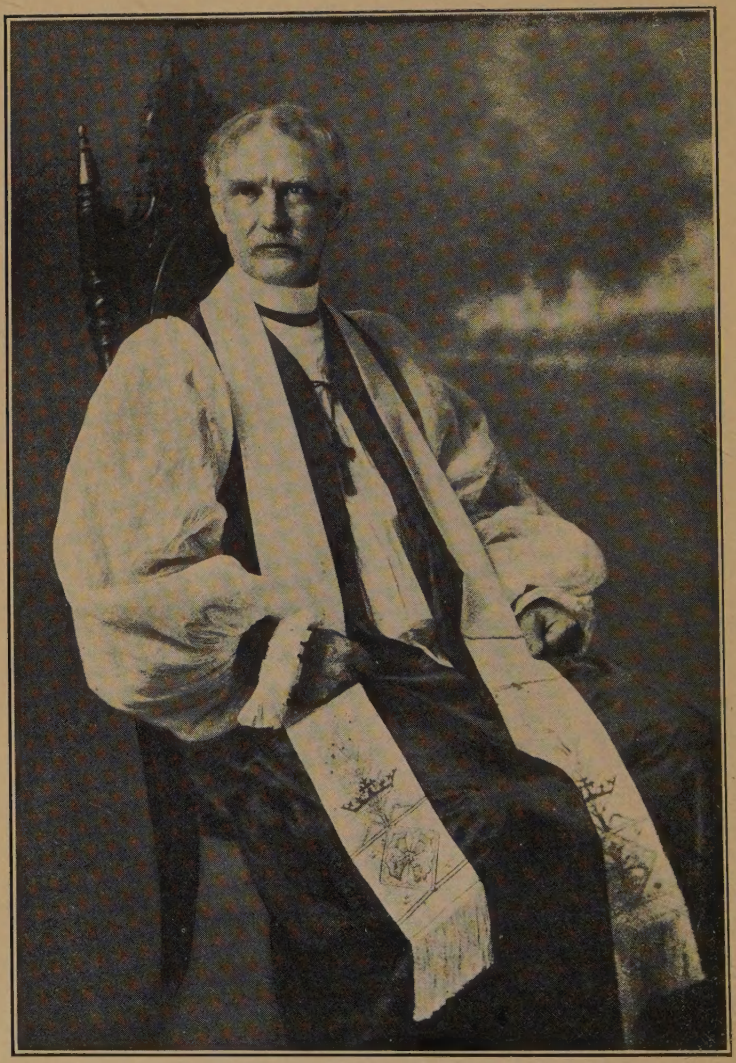

HENRY BOND RESTARICK, D. D.
First American Bishop of Honolulu.

Henry Bond Restarick

HAWAII

1778–1920

from the

VIEWPOINT

of a

BISHOP

Being the Story of English and American
Churchmen in Hawaii
with Historical Sidelights

by the

Rt. Rev. Henry Bond Restarick, D.D. 1854-193
RETIRED BISHOP

Author of "Lay Readers,"
"The Love of God," etc.

1924
PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC
Honolulu, T. H.
U. S. A.

TO

MY WIFE

MY HELPER IN THIS AND
ALL OTHER WORK FOR
FORTY-TWO YEARS

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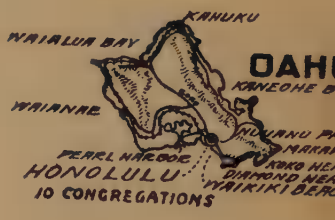


HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
(Sandwich Islands)
With places mentioned in this book


MOLOKAI
KALAUPAPA
EVELT
MAUI
HANA
ULAPALAKUA
HAWAII NATIONAL
PARK
OOLAWE


KOHALA
MAHUKONA
HONOKAA
KAWAIHAE
KAMUELA
LAUPAHOEHOE
PAPAALOA
ONOMEA
HILO
KAILUA
HAWAII
NATIONAL
PARK
HAWAII
KALAPANA
HONAUNAU
(City of Refuge)
HOOPULOA
PUNALUU
WAIOHINO
HONUAPO

FOREWORD.

When I first contemplated writing this book, my intention was to give an account of the influence of Anglican Churchmen in Hawaii from the time of Captain Cook until 1820. This was to be followed by the history of the Church after its establishment under Bishop Staley in 1862, and the story of conditions which he found and the difficulties and struggles of the Church until is was handed over to American jurisdiction in 1902, and its progress since that time under its first American Bishop.

As I proceeded, I found that it would be impossible to present this intelligently without giving, at some length, historical sidelights. This led me to write of the general progress in the Islands before the coming of the missionaries in 1820, their theology and their attitude towards amusements, the Sabbath, and the difficulties which beset Bishop Staley in 1862.

While much of this book is therefore of special interest to Churchmen, yet it is of historical importance to all interested in Hawaii.

"The task of the historian is to separate truth from the propaganda of the past" writes McElroy, in his life of President Cleveland, and I have kept these words in mind. It is an easy matter to be the advocate of a cause, concealing facts and passing over the opinions of those who differ, but I have given extracts from writers on both sides of any question treated.

While I certainly have no desire to minimize any Christian effort which has been made in Hawaii, no writer of its history can justly ignore the criticism of those who have viewed conditions from standpoints which have not coincided with those of the missionaries of the American Board, or of the Anglican Church.

Jarves in his "Confessions" wrote that the missionaries in Hawaii "had suffered as much from fulsome praise as from malicious attack," and he from his residence in Hawaii for a number of years after his arrival in 1837, and from his being the nephew of a missionary, was a fair judge.

The men and women who came to Hawaii as missionaries need no defence, their work speaks for itself. If they were narrow in some matters, as viewed from present day standards, it was the fault of the age in which they lived, and of the training which they received. No one can doubt that they had the good of the Hawaiians at heart. They had great difficulties to overcome and they met them with faith, courage and hard work. They made mistakes, for they were human beings and not gods. Their mistakes, however, as now viewed, even by most of their descendants, were due to the theology and rules of conduct which were part of the system then prevailing, and in which they were reared. Their sons and daughters have contributed, in a remarkable degree to the intellectual, moral and material development of Hawaii nei.

I have gathered information from many sources, from books now out of print or seldom read, copies of log books, journals and letters which throw light on many subjects, some of which have only lately been made available. There is also tradition, which had to be carefully examined before being accepted. I believe that this generation should have this scattered information in a collected form, so that what was written by men of different views and ways of life may be better known.

EXPLANATION

In what follows the words "Church" and "Churchman" are used in the sense in which they appear in history and in the literature of the English language. The Church of England, the Colonial Churches and the American Episcopal Church use the word "Church" as referring to the organiza-

tion of the Anglican Communion, and "Churchman," when a member of it is meant.[1] In books and journals these words are spelled with a capital "C" except when church signifies a house of worship.

This use of terms does not imply in the least that this Church is the only Christian body entitled to the name, nor is it intended to disparage the good works done by any religious organization, nor to imply any lack of appreciation of the fine Christian characters which have been developed under other religious systems.

It should be fully understood that when members of this Church speak or write of "the Church," they do not emphasize the word "the," as some imagine they do. It is well also to remember that many English speaking Christians, within the memory of people still living, did not call their places of worship "churches" but "meeting-houses," or, as in England, "chapels." Dibble writes of "a house of worship," not "church." They did not like the word church because it was used by the Christian body which they repudiated together with its holy days, feasts, fasts and liturgical services. Happily the day has passed when to observe Good Friday, Easter and other days is considered an error savoring of Rome. This is only one of the many signs that Christians are drawing nearer together. I dislike all names which emphasize divisions, and therefore I do not like the word "Episcopalian." I prefer Churchman.

This Church demands of its members belief in the simple basis of the Apostles' Creed, which, as the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher once said, "is the only creed on which Christians were ever united, and the only one upon which they can be united again." With the acceptance of this belief this Church tolerates the widest differences of opinion and practice and prays that all Christians may be one "in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life."

[1]Woodrow Wilsen in his excellent "History of the American People" uses the word Churchman in this sense.

With this explanation, with full appreciation of all Christian effort, and with charity towards all, in the use of the words Church and Churchman, I shall follow the customary usage of the Anglican Communion throughout the world.

The word "Priest" is used as it is in the Prayer Book where it is synonymous with "Presbyter," the second order of the ministry.

I have been extremely fortunate in knowing so many of the sons and daughters of the missionaries of the American Board. The memory of Sereno Bishop, born in 1827, went back to John Young. Many others remembered events in the fifties. With some of these men and women I have been on terms of intimate friendship and have had many conversations with them about conditions of old times. I have also known men and women who were adults in the forties, such as Charles R. Bishop, who arrived here in 1846, and a number of the older Hawaiians, who were the depositories of traditions.

In this way I have been, as it were, in touch with the past and have been in sympathy with the Hawaiians and with those who labored here for the good of humanity by whatever ecclesiastical names they are called. I believe, therefore, that I can be fair as I describe conditions according to information from many sources. Sometimes these are presented in a different light from that in which they are viewed in common opinion.

In all that I write it is my sole desire to present facts and not to act as an advocate of any opinion. Little has been collated in regard to the advancement towards civilization in Hawaii before 1820, on which subject missionary writers are singularly silent, nor has much been gathered about moral conditions before the above date and people generally accept the statements that they were altogether bad.

It will be necessary to dwell upon these subjects at some length in order to understand history. In giving what early

navigators and residents wrote, I leave the reader to form his own conclusions. I do, however, at times, make comparisons in order that prejudice shall not prevent fair judgment.

HENRY BOND RESTARICK.

Honolulu, Hawaii.
December, 1924.

NOTE—There is pratical agreement among scholars that the Hawaiians came originally from India by way of the Islands of Indonesia. The Polynesian race inhabits Hawaii, New Zealand, Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, the Marquesas, and some smaller groups. They speak dialects of the same language, are alike physically, and have similar traditions and myths.

The Hawaiian Islands were no doubt discovered by the Spaniards in 1555, but were not visited later by them. Captain James Cook rediscovered them in 1778, and made them known to the world. He named them the Sandwich Islands after Earl Sandwich, the patron of the expedition.

The Hawaiians were not cannibals, although they offered up human sacrifices as a part of their worship.

Not many Hawaiian terms will be found in this book. Among those used are the following:

Mauka, meaning towards the mountains.

Makai, in the direction of the sea.

Waikiki, S. E. towards that suburb of Honolulu.

Ewa, N. W. towards that district from Honolulu.

H. B. R.

ERRATA

Page 18. In the spelling of "Eleanor" and "Metcalf" Alexander, Ellis et al. have been followed. The captain himself wrote the names "Eleanora" and "Metcalfe."

Page 39, for James M. Hunnewell, read James F. Hunnewell.

Page 112, for C. M. Cooke, read A. S. Cooke.


ASIA
NORTH AMERICA
UNALASKA
SITKA
VANCOUVER
SEATTLE
PORTLAND
VLADIVOSTOCK
YOKAHAMA
SAN FRANCISCO
LOS ANGELES
SAN DIEGO
NEW YORK
HONOLULU
HONG KONG
MANILA
PANAMA CANAL
AUSTRALIA
CALLAO
SYDNEY
SOUTH AMERICA
MELBOURNE
NEW ZEALAND
VALPARAISO
PUNTA ARENAS

CHAPTER I.

FIRST CHRISTIAN SERVICE IN HAWAII—FIRST CHURCHMEN IN HAWAII.

The first recorded Christian service in Hawaii was held at Napoopoo (then called Kakua), Hawaii, on Thursday, January 28, 1779. It was on the occasion of the first visit of Captain Cook to Kealakekua Bay and during his second visit to the Hawaiian Islands. A seaman named William Whatman died after a lingering illness. The man was much respected because of his attachment to Captain Cook. The chief , Tereeoboo (Kaleiopu), desired that the body should be buried at Napoopoo in the "heiau," or as Cook called it, the "morai." There is no chaplain mentioned on the roster of the ships, as given by the great navigator, so that the burial service of the English Prayer Book would be read by one of the officers. It is recorded that the natives present behaved "with great decorum" and "paid due attention to the service." As the sailors were about to fill the grave, the priests reverently approached and threw in a dead pig together with some coconuts and bananas. For three nights they came to the grave sacrificing hogs and reciting hymns and prayers till morning. A post was placed at the head of the grave with a board nailed to it giving the name and age of the deceased and the natives promised that it should not be removed.[1]

The second recorded service from the Prayer Book was on the occasion of the burial of Captain Cook on Sunday, February 21, 1779. After threats and persuasions the chiefs brought to Captain Clerke and Lieutenant King such remains of Captain Cook as could be found. These included the skull, hands, the bones of the arms and legs and other bones, all wrapped in a large quantity of new tapa and covered with a

1 Cook's 3rd Voyage, Ed. 1784, Vol. 3, pp. 24-5.

spotted cloak of black and white feathers. These remains were deposited in a coffin and after the burial service had been read over them, "they were committed to the deep with the usual military honors." During the service the chiefs put a tabu on the bay.[2]

While these were the first two recorded services, yet, by regulations of the Royal Navy, services of the Prayer Book must have been read on the ships by some officer, but it is not customary to mention them in the log. On one occasion it is stated that Cook, when on shore at Tahiti, "directed that divine service should be performed on Sundays," so no doubt service was held on the ships at Kealakekua Bay.

The third recorded Church service, and the first on Oahu, was in December, 1794, when the burial service was read over the body of Captain Kendrick of the American ship, the Lady Washington. (See later under First Clergyman in Hawaii.)

CHURCHMEN RESIDENT IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

In 1790 two American vessels, the Eleanor and the Fair American, the latter a small schooner of 26 tons, visited Hawaii on their way to China from the North West Coast of America. Probably in retaliation for a flogging of a chief by Metcalf, captain of the Eleanor, the Fair American was seized at Kawaihae and the crew of five killed with the exception of Isaac Davis, who, after being severely wounded, was spared.[3] John Young, boatswain of the Eleanor, was at Kailua and was detained by King Kamehameha until the ship sailed.

Kamehameha and Young soon arrived at Kawaihae where the King expressed great sorrow at the massacre and assured Young and Davis of his protection. For some years these two sailors lived with Kamehameha to whom they rendered valuable counsel, both as to his treatment of foreigners and

2 Cook's 3rd Voyage, Ed. 1784, Vol. 3, p. 84.
3 Campbell's Voyage, Ed. 1816, p. 129.

in his wars in which they assisted, having charge of the artillery.

Vancouver arrived first in 1792 and during his stay Young lived on one of the ships and Davis on the other. The two men are frequently mentioned by navigators who visited the Islands, and always most favorably. In January, 1794, Vancouver, in his journal writes: "Young and Davis, we had likewise the pleasure of finding in the exercise of those judicious principles they so wisely adopted and by their example and advice, had so uniformly been carried into effect. The great propriety with which they conducted themselves had tended, in a high degree, to the comfort and happiness of these people, and to a preeminence in the opinion of the King, that had entitled them to his warmest affections." Vancouver offered to take Young and Davis home, but after careful consideration they decided to remain. He writes: "The principal object they seemed to have in view was to correct by gentle means the vices and encourage by the same laudable endeavors the virtues of these Islands, in this meritorious undertaking they had evidently made some progress."[4]

Vancouver mentions eleven foreigners as residing on Hawaii, including Howell, Young, Davis and John Boyd, who is described as "an industrious and ingenious man," who was then building a boat for the King. He was the progenitor of the well known Boyd family, many members of which have been educated in Church schools and have become members of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

Besides the respectable white men, Vancouver writes of others as "a band of renegados, who had quitted different foreign vessels" and lived on Hawaii, Oahu and Kauai. He especially speaks of the "vagabonds" who came from Botany Bay and who set a bad example and caused trouble. He doubts whether the Islanders would receive any civilizing influence from the foreigners except the four whom he named.

4 Vancouver, London, 1798, p. 65.

Isaac Davis was born at Milford Haven, Wales,[5] and was a Churchman. His Prayer Book is at this writing in the possession of Miss Lucy Peabody, a great granddaughter, as is a letter from Vancouver commending him to the masters of ships as a man to be trusted. Miss Peabody is a communicant of St. Andrew's Cathedral, as is her niece, Mrs. Edgar Henriques.

Davis told Campbell in 1809 that when the natives tried to kill him he repeated the Lord's Prayer and felt strengthened.[6] He was blind from his wounds for some time.

He became a constant companion of Kamehameha and moved from place to place with him. While on Oahu, Kaumualii, the King of Kauai, came on a visit. Davis informed the Kauai King of a plot of certain chiefs to kill him, and he was poisoned by the chiefs in revenge. He was buried in a lot set apart for foreigners, near what is now the corner of Piikoi and King streets. A stone of Chinese granite having his name and age upon it marked the spot. Kotzebue, who saw it about 1816, gives the inscription on the stone as follows:

The remains
of
Isaac Davis
who died on this Island
April—1810
Aged 52 years.[7]

In 1825 Bloxam, the Chaplain of the Blonde, mentions it, describing its situation as being on the right hand of the road going to Waikiki.[8] The stone was removed in 1900 and was unfortunately lost.

After the death of Davis, a nephew, John Davis, arrived in the Islands looking for his uncle. This man settled in

5 Vancouver, Ed. 1801, p. 235.
6 Campbell's Voyage, Ed. 1816, p. 129.
7 Kotzebue, Ed. 1821, p. 258.
8 Voyage of the Blonde, London, 1826, p. 45.

Waimea and his descendants are still living.[9] His daughter, Mrs. Roy, a woman of fine character, lived long in Kona and I was present at her burial. I have been told that her father taught her to read but not to write, as he feared she might write to some of the disreputable foreigners on the Islands.

Davis was married three times and had one child by each wife. These children John Young cared for as his own when Davis died. Both Young and Davis were made tabu chiefs and both had adobe and coral houses at Kawaihae. They are now in ruins but a grandson of Isaac Davis lives near by today (1924).

JOHN YOUNG

John Young was the intimate friend and adviser of Kamehameha I and as a high chief often sat in the King's councils with his friend Isaac Davis. Every navigator speaks of Young's influence for good. In 1804 the King made him governor of Hawaii which office he held for many years.

There is a family in Massachusetts which claims that John Young was born on Cape Cod. I inquired carefully into this and read a paper on the subject before the Hawaiian Historical Society in 1913. Recently acquired papers of David L. Gregg, who was American Commisisoner, 1853-8, prove that there was another John Young in the Islands during the first years of the residence of the one detained at Kailua by the King.[10] In a letter of Gregg to Col. William P. Young of Washington, D. C., written on August 30, 1856, at Honolulu, are the words: "It appears that about the period the John Young of the Eleanor was captured on Hawaii, another person of the same name resided in the Island of Oahu. The latter wrote a letter to the former inviting him to come to Oahu. An escape was attempted but defeated through the vigilance of Kamehameha and his chiefs." This man was no doubt the Young from Massachusetts and it is

9 Related by Miss Lucy Peabody.
10 Papers in the Territorial Archives.

believed that he sailed from the Islands to China and was heard of no more. The identity of the names led at one time to claims by the American family to the property of John Young the Englishman.

That Young of the Eleanor was an Englishman is clearly established. Vancouver states that the man was born in Liverpool, England. He undoubtedly obtained this information from Young himself.[11]

In the Gregg letter it is stated that Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, who married a daughter of John Young, was in possession of most of the papers left by him. Dr. Rooke gave Gregg a written statement that John Young was born at Crosly near Liverpool on March 17, 1744, and that his brothers Peter and James were pilots at Liverpool.

In the manuscript journal of the Rev. Artemus Bishop, in the possession of the family, is the entry under date of December 14, 1825: "Arrived at Towaihae (Kawaihae). Spent the evening with John Young. This gentleman is nearly 80 years of age. He is an Englishman by birth but followed the sea for several years out of Philadelphia." After quoting Young about the Eleanor, Mr. Bishop adds: "I have just had the above particulars from his (Young's) mouth."

The Gregg papers state that Young "went to the North American Colonies prior to our revolution. He was engaged as a seaman chiefly out of Philadelphia and New York."

The first wife of Young died of a pestilence, supposedly cholera, which swept the Islands in 1804. His son Robert, by this wife, he sent to New England to be educated under the care of Captain Magee. This Captain, on February 10, 1804, wrote to Young from Canton, saying: "I left Robert well in America about six months ago. He is in school and behaves well. I am very fond of him and shall take great care to make him a good man. Remember me to Stewart and Davis." This son served in the United States Navy in the

11 Vancouver, Ed. 1801. Vol. 3, p. 258.

war of 1812 and was taken prisoner in the battle of Lake Champlain. He was sent to Bermuda and no more was heard of him.[12] On the death of his first wife Young married Kaoanaeha, a niece of Kamehameha I, by whom he had two sons, James and John, and several daughters. One of these, Fanny Kakela, was the mother of Emma Rooke (she took the name of Dr. Rooke who had adopted her). It is interesting to note that Young's granddaughter, Emma Rooke, and her husband, Kamehameha IV, were instrumental in founding the mission of the Anglican Church in Hawaii in 1862.

The first recorded Christian marriage in the Islands was that of a son of John Young. In a manuscript of Dr. Judd's, recently discovered, and now in the possession of George R. Carter, under the title of "The Young Family," is the following: "James, the youngest son, was born August 7, 1797. He left the Islands at the age of nine years and was a sailor for several years, visiting England and America. He returned and married the daughter of Isaac Davis. The ceremony was performed by an English Chaplain in the Episcopal form, and this was the first Christian marriage in the Sandwich Islands." This was unknown to Alexander, who writes that the first Christian marriage was that of Thomas Hopu and Delia in 1822.

The late Sereno Bishop told me that he believed Young to be "an English Churchman, and that he showed his religious training and was a power for good."

Mr. Bishop, when a boy, often travelled with his father on missionary journeys, and at Kawaihae they were accustomed to stay with Young. One reason Mr. Bishop believed Young to be a Churchman was that on one occasion he had an argument with Father Lyon, the missionary at Waimea, in which Mr. Lyons maintained the necessity of a conscious moment of conversion as necessary to salvation. Young, on the other hand, stoutly argued that if a man lived up to the light which he had he had nothing to fear. Mr. Bishop said

[12] Papers of D. L. Gregg.

that Young tried amidst difficulties to bring up his children well and was particularly strict with his daughters.

In the archives building, Honolulu, there is a small book in which Young kept an account of his trading transactions. In it also are portions which show that he thought on religious subjects. The prayer of St. Chrysostom from the Prayer Book is given in full, but it is evidently not copied from the book, as the spelling and capitalization are his own. Whether he wrote it from the memory of its frequent use in some English parish church, or whether he took it down from the lips of some sailor, must be a matter of conjecture. Here it is as it appears in the journal:

"Almighty god who has given us grace at this time with one a cord to make our Common Suplications unto thee and Dost promis that when two or three are gathered together in they Name thou wilt grant their Requests Fulfil Now O Lord the Desires and petions of they servants as May Be Most Expedient for them granting us in this world knowledg of they truth and in the world to cum life Everlasting. Emane."

We might say here that Young's spelling was quite as good as that of many who wrote diaries in his day.

In another place we find some verses beginning:

"Life is the time to serve the Lord
Then i insure the great reward
And (while) the lamp holds out to burn
The vilest sinner may return"

His will shows religious feeling. He begins stating he is weak in body "but of sound and perfect mind and memory blessed be the Almighty for the same." He then mentions the children of "my Desesed friend Isaac Davis," asking the King and chief to see that the children got the land given to him by Kamehameha: "which I hope in God our Young King will fulfil the Wishes of his Honored Father." He ends the will speaking of his dear friends the Hawaiians: "May that great Being who Rules the Nations of the Earth

Continou You in Peace and Happenes with Each other and all mankind and happenes in the World to Com."[13]

He often advised the people to listen to the missionaries. In 1826 he wrote a letter commending them. It ended thus: "I thank God that in my old age I see them and I hope feel their teachings.[14]

When Kamehameha died, Young was present and, weeping, bent over the King and kissed him. He lived to a good old age, dying Dec. 16, 1835, and his grave is in the royal cemetery in Nuuanu Valley, mauka of the old mausoleum.

VANCOUVER

Among all the navigators who visited the Islands before the missionaries came, none approached Vancouver in the good which he did, the respect and confidence which he inspired and the lasting impression which he left on the minds of the chiefs. He made three visits in 1792-3-4. In addition to his published works, several journals kept by members of his ships' companies are in existence. These were taken from those who kept them, when England was reached, as the Admiralty wished only Vancouver's account to be published. However, copies of some of these, some printed and some typewritten, are in the possession of the Hawaiian Historical Society and they add greatly to our knowledge of Vancouver and conditions in Hawaii in his time.

Vancouver was a Churchman. He frequently spoke to the King of the folly of idolatry and of the one, true God. He tried to impress upon the chiefs the evil effects of their continual wars and the benefits of humanity and justice. He promised that on his return to England he would endeavor to get teachers of religion sent out to Hawaii.[15] Ellis, who lived in Hawaii some years, from 1822 onward, when writing at the time the Church of England established a mission here in 1862, doubts this, but Kamehameha IV, in his re-

13 In the Archives Building, Honolulu.
14 Anderson, p. 67.
15 Dibble, reprint by Thrum, 1909, p. 35, and Alexander, p. 140.

markable preface to his Hawaiian translation of the Book of Common Prayer, distinctly states that Vancouver had made this promise. Dibble and Alexander both acknowledge it and a rather literal translation of the words of Kamehameha IV, in the preface referred to is this: "Vancouver had been requested to cause the sending of a true religion about God, then Iolani (i. e. Kamehameha II) went to a foreign land (i. e. England) that it might be fulfilled, so we see now (i. e. when Bishop Staley came in 1862), it was really sent and that it is erected in Hawaii nei after long, tedious waiting."[16]

The promise of Vancouver was remembered by the chiefs who would not allow the missionaries to land in 1820 until Young, a friend of Vancouver's, told them that they taught the same God of whom Vancouver spoke.

On his return to England it appears that Vancouver urged Pitt to send missionaries, but England had her hands full at this time. If he had succeeded, the political history of the Islands might have been very different. In time the Islands would probably have been annexed by England as Fiji and Tonga were.

Vancouver mentions the desire of the King and chiefs for a British protectorate, and the journal of one of his company, recently found, shows that in the presence of a great council of chiefs, the British present supposed that Hawaii was ceded to Britain and the English Flag was raised, but the cession was never recognized in England and was not fully understood by the Hawaiians.[17] At that time Kamehameha was not King of all the Islands and so could not have ceded the group. That the Hawaiians considered that a kind of protectorate had been assumed is certain from what occurred when Byron arrived in 1825.

Menzies, who was with Vancouver, names as a resident in Hawaii a Captain Stewart whose brother had been a mate

[16] Preface to the Hawaiian Prayer Book by Kamehameha IV.
[17] Dibble, p. 37 and MS journal of one with Vancouver.

on H. M. S. Bounty when the mutiny occurred on that vessel. He also tells of John Smith who was useful to him on several of his botanizing expeditions. These men are mentioned because they appear to have had, in a degree at least, the confidence of the chiefs. With Young and Davis they taught such industries to the Hawaiians as they themselves knew. They married native women and left descendants, many of whom are living today. By their words and actions they did much to weaken confidence in the tabu system and idolatry, as will appear later on.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST CLERGYMAN IN HAWAII—ANOTHER CHURCHMAN.

The first clergyman to live on Hawaii was an Englishman named John Howell. Vancouver found him living at Kawaloa when he arrived at Kealakekua Bay on January 12, 1794, and writes: "With Kavahilo also resided a person by the name of Howell who had come to Hawaii in the capacity of clerk on board the Washington. He appeared to possess a good understanding with the advantage of a university education, and had once been a clergyman of the Church of England, but had now secluded himself from European society."[1]

Having been ordained, Howell would always be a clergyman though for cause he might have his license to officiate taken away. Probably Vancouver means that he was then engaged in business.

Archibald Menzies, who was the surgeon and naturalist of the expedition, writes in his journal under date of January 13, 1794: "John Young came aboard and brought a complimental letter from a Mr. Howell who lived on shore with our old friend Keaweaheula, chief of the district. We found the Lady Washington, a snow, under American colors commanded by Mr. Kendrick. She had been on the North West Coast last summer collecting furs and meant to return again in the spring to complete her cargo. It was on this vessel (of 90 tons burden) that Mr. Howell came from China with intent to remain some time in these Islands and for this purpose had taken up his abode on shore."[2]

But of this man we have earlier mention. The log of the Margaret, now in Salem, Mass., gives John Howell on the

[1] Vancouver, Ed. 1801, p. 115.
[2] Journal of Archibald Menzies, F. J. Wilson, p. 143-4.

roster of officers, on which he is listed as "Historian." The statement follows that Howell was an Englishman. The Margaret left Boston October 24, 1791, and reached Nootka Sound April 24, 1792.

The writer of a journal by an unknown man with Vancouver speaks of Howell as having arrived at Nootka on the Margaret and living on shore. Ingraham's journal of the voyage of the Hope mentions Howell as being on the Margaret in 1792 and Greenhow, in his history of the North West Coast, says he was the supercargo of the Margaret and that he "was or had been an Episcopal clergyman."

Captain Kendrick sailed from Boston in 1787 and engaged in the fur trade between the North West Coast and China. He was in China in 1792 and there must have met Howell, who had gone to Canton on the Margaret, for there the Padre, as he was called, in March, 1793, attested the copy of deeds to lands on Nootka Sound which the Captain had purchased of the Indians. These deeds were important in the settlement of the dispute in regard to the North West boundary.

When Kendrick returned to Nootka in the summer of 1793, Howell was with him, and later sailed to Hawaii, reaching Kealakekua Bay about December first of that year.

Menzies saw much of Howell in Hawaii in the early part of 1794. He mentions him seven times in his journal. The Padre dined with Vancouver on January 15, and on February 6, he set out with Menzies and a party to ascend Mauna Loa. When they reached the edge of the crater Howell was exhausted and his shoes had given out, so he and all the natives but one were left behind while Menzies ascended to the highest point. He was the first white man and probably the first human being to reach the summit, the height of which he calculated as 13,634 feet or within 41 feet of the altitude given by the Hawaiian Government survey. When Menzies descended he found Howell and the natives had gone taking

with them the small quantity of liquor which had been carefully preserved for emergencies.

Cleveland, in his Voyages, 1802-3, tells a story often repeated later, that when Howell became familiar with the language, he told Kamehameha about God and about the folly of idolatry and that the King told him to fling himself over a cliff near by and if he was unhurt he would believe. If this story told to Cleveland is true, Howell must have remained on Hawaii while Kendrick returned to Nootka to complete the cargo of the Washington. If he had left Hawaii early in the spring of 1794 he would only have been on the Islands a few months, which would scarcely give him time to acquire "sufficient of the language" which Cleveland mentions.[3] If the Padre remained on Hawaii until the Washington returned, late in November, 1794, he would have resided on the Islands over a year.

Tradition says that the King desired to "tie to the soil" Young, Davis and perhaps others, and that at his request Howell married them by a rite which they would consider sacred. In this case Howell of course would use the Prayer Book service.

Another tradition says that Howell officiated at the burial of Captain Kendrick of the Washington. This American trader was accidentally killed in Honolulu harbor on December 7, 1794. A salute was being fired by Captain Brown from the English ship, the Jackal, when by mistake a loaded gun was fired, the ball entering the cabin where the Captain was seated at dinner. We know that Howell was then in Honolulu with the Washington and that he sailed for China on her a month after the accident. It seems probable, therefore, that as a clergyman he would read the burial service.

The place of Kendrick's interment has been a matter of conjecture, but I believe that the spot was near what is now the corner of King and Piikoi Streets. For this belief there

[3] Cleveland's Voyages, Vol. 1, p. 233.

are several reasons. Here Captain Charles Derby of Salem, Massachusetts, was buried in September, 1802. Captain Cleveland, a friend of Derby, visited the place in 1803 and describes it as a place where there were coconut trees and grass. We know there is a spring near this spot. A glance at the map will show that it is not far from the harbor. Here Isaac Davis was buried in 1810 and Kotzebue, captain of a Russian ship, when he saw his grave in 1816, says it was "a cemetery set apart for the burial of foreigners." People now living remember seeing a number of sunken graves there. The point is this, if the chiefs gave their consent to the burial of Kendrick at a certain spot, it is most likely that other foreigners who died in Honolulu later would be buried at the same place. Derby died seven years and nine months after Kendrick was buried here, as we know. This ground continued to be used as a burial place for foreigners for many years.

When the Washington reached China, Howell left the ship and established himself as a ship broker at Canton under the name of Howell and Company. Captain Bishop, in the log of the Ruby, often refers to Howell, to whom he consigned the sale of the cargo in April, 1796. His business relations with the Padre were not satisfactory. Captain Bishop, while in Canton, found that Howell was part owner of the Washington.

Letters from Howell are in the Bureau of Rolls Department of State, Washington, D. C., one of which claims that the estate of Captain Kendrick owed him $17,717. The last letter is dated May 28, 1798. Nothing further is known of him.

An article appeared in The Friend in 1862, written by W. H. Pease, in which it is stated that Howell was called Padre because "of his religious life and conversation," but no doubt he received the title because it was the common designation of all clergymen by sailors.

ANOTHER RESIDENT ENGLISH CHURCHMAN

Among the English Churchmen who resided in the Islands prior to 1820 was Captain George Beckley, who first came to Hawaii between 1806 and 1810. Unfortunately his journal is lost, it having been taken to California by Captain Edward Kistler after the death of his wife Maria, a daughter of Beckley and Ahia, a woman of high rank.

Captain Beckley made voyages to China and Mexico. On one occasion he took his wife to Canton and she was the first Hawaiian woman to visit that city, according to information acquired from Tony Afong of Macao. From oral and written statements given by his descendants now living, it appears that Beckley had the confidence of Kamehameha. Mrs. Mary Montano, a granddaughter of Beckley, says that Princess Ruth pointed out to her a large hau tree back of the old palace at Kailua where he sat in council with the King, Young, Davis and other chiefs.

As an instance of the confidence reposed in him by the King he was appointed commandant of the fort built under the direction of John Young at the foot of what is now Fort Street, Honolulu. He held this office during the years 1816-17.[4]

Beckley was a Churchman and his Prayer Book is in the possession of the family. It contains entries on the fly leaves of the dates when his children were born and the names given them. He was made a chief and went by the name of Keiki (son). Several of his children were brought up by members of the royal family.

Beckley, it is said, had a house at Vera Cruz, Mexico.

The last residence of Captain Beckley in Honolulu was a coral house built in modern style in 1826, on the lot occupied at this writing by Dr. George Herbert's office 1067 Alakea Street. When he died, in 1826, he was buried in a vault on these premises, his body being removed later to Nuuanu cemetery. The family claims that Beckley designed

[4] Kotzebue, Vol. I, p. 333.

the Hawaiian flag but the descendants of Captain A. Adams make a similar claim. Ellis, here in 1822, says positively that the flag "was given them by the British Government many years ago, accompanied by the assurance that it would be respected wherever the British flag was acknowledged."[5]

Beckley's will is in existence and a copy is in the archives building.

The Captain is mentioned many times by Kotzebue, but missionary writers say nothing about him, except that Bingham gives his name incidentally with others in 1820, as desirous of having his wife and children instructed. The missionaries do not mention other respectable white men and traders of the period we are considering, so the omission is not strange.

As an English Churchman, and one who had seen much of the world, Beckley would probably agree with Bloxam, Jarves (in his Confessions), "A Haole" and others, that the rules which the New England missionaries imposed on their converts were too harsh and unsuited to conditions. The family tradition is that Beckley was very distant in manner towards those with whom he was not in accord, and he was not in sympathy wth the methods of the Americans and perhaps he viewed with suspicion their power with the chiefs and may have been jealous of American influence. It is stated that when asked his opinion of certain missionaries he said: "Ahohe ano" or "nothing."

5 Ellis, p. 310.

CHAPTER III

ADVANCE IN CONDITIONS AFTER COOK'S VISIT. PREPARATION FOR THE MISSIONARIES.

While the influence of many white men was debasing, yet that of others was good. There were men of good families, American and English residents and traders who assisted in what Bloxam of the Blonde calls "the partial civilization" of the Hawaiians. The names of but few of these men are mentioned by the missionaries in their histories, who emphasize the evils of heathenism and the need of the Gospel and say nothing of any advance made in trade or useful arts from the time of Cook until they came. If the names of men whose influence for good are mentioned at all, the reference is only incidental.

It is well to learn what navigators and residents say of the progress of a material kind made between the death of Cook and 1820.

Turnbull, who was here in 1800, writes: "Young, Davis, Stewart, etc., etc., had employed themselves successfully in instructing the natives in many useful arts . . . they show astounding assiduity to improve their condition . . . some of them are blacksmiths. His (Kamehameha's) subjects have already made considerable advance in civilization. . . . In the Sandwich Islands none are permitted to be idle."[6]

Lisiansky in 1804 says: "They have already made great advance towards civilization, since the period of their discovery."[7]

Several navigators write of the industry of the Hawaiians. One said that they were the most industrious people that he ever saw. In this connection it should be remembered that

[6] Turnbull, London, 1813, pp. 224-231-4-6.
[7] Lisiansky, London, 1823, p. 128.

the feudal system was then in force and the people were obliged to obey their chiefs who owned all the land.

Campbell, who lived on the Islands for thirteen months, 1809, 1810, resided a part of the time in the house of Isaac Davis. He had excellent opportunities to observe conditions. He writes: "The Islanders are making rapid progress towards civilization which must be ascribed to their natural ingenuity and unwearied industry, but a great part also to the unceasing exertions of Kamehameha, whose enlarged mind has enabled him to see the advantages of intercourse with Europeans. . . . It is astounding how soon they acquire useful arts from their visitors. Many of the natives are employed as carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths and tailors and do their work as perfectly as Europeans."[8] He says that Davis had a native servant named Jack who was a tailor, and that "The natives since Captain Cook have made rapid progress in many mechanical arts and hope within a few years to trade with China in vessels of their own construction."

The King at that time had a number of ships. Campbell tells of a theater in existence in Honolulu in 1810 with scenery made by an Englishman and that the wife of Davis took the part of Malvina in the play of Oscar and Malvina. He says: "If foreigners conduct themselves with propriety they rank as chiefs." He relates the fact that the King had two large stone warehouses where he stored the produce of his trade with China, and that in 1810 a two story house in European style was being built for him. The imports from China in exchange for sandal wood included granite for posts and other uses, silk, porcelain ware and furniture. Mrs. Thurston in 1820 mentions a gift from Liholiho of "a Chinese circular table with six drawers."[9] Others mention Chinese and European articles used for dress, and in furnishing the houses of native chiefs and of white men.

Kotzebue, who was here in 1816-17, says that the King

[8] Campbell. Edinburgh, 1816, pp. 199-209-235.
[9] Lucy Thurston, p. 39.

had modern houses and furniture, and that a number of white residents had good houses. Many of the native wives of foreigners were dressed in European style, among whom was Young's wife. At Kawaihae Kotzebue found several stone houses in what he calls the "Young settlement."[10] Some of these are still standing though in ruins. He tells of like houses in Honolulu.[11]

Parker of Waimea, Hawaii, was of an excellent Massachusetts family and came to reside in Hawaii in 1815. He was a man of a sterling religious character. He is mentioned by the Englishman Ellis twice. Missionaries were entertained at his house near which he "cultivated a considerable tract of land."[12] We know from his letters that he was in regular correspondence with his New England relatives. The late D. L. Withington had occasion as a lawyer to look over Parker's papers and he informed me that they disclosed the fact that he regularly had family prayers in his household even before 1820. Mrs. Thurston in 1820 tells of landing at Kailua and having family prayers. She writes: "It was the first family altar ever reared on this group of Islands to the worship of Jehovah." She was not aware that not far away a Massachusetts man had been accustomed for some years to have such prayers. Parker, as far as he could, lived like a white man. He acquired large tracts of land and left two sons to inherit his property. To his only daughter he left but little. When he built his stone house at Mana he held regular Sunday services in a large room.

Peter Corney, an Englishman, who saw much of the Islands from 1815 to 1818, wrote an account of his voyages in 1821 and particularly calls the attention of his countrymen to the importance of the Islands, "also to the rapid progress the natives are making towards civilization unaided by missionaries, by improving themselves and cultivating an

10 Kotzebue, Vol. I, p. 295.
11 Ibid, p. 330.
12 Ellis, pp. 286 and 301.

intercourse with other countries . . . there is an anxious wish for improvement on their part, improvement beyond the most sanguine hope of those who wish to see the condition of mankind bettered by social intercourse. Their battery at Oahu where guard is mounted and relieved with as much regularity and form as in the tower of London, their charging foreign vessels pilotage show that they are ready to imitate the customs of civilized nations."[13]

After having pleasant relations with the King at Kailua, Corney sailed for Oahu where his ship was boarded by John Young, who piloted him into Honolulu harbor. "Here Mr. Manning (Manini), a Spaniard, and Mr. Harbottle, an Englishman, who had been on the Islands many years, came aboard, as did also a number of respectable white men."[14] On Christmas Day, 1817, Corney writes: "We invited all the chiefs and respectable white men on the Island to dine with us on shore; we spent a most pleasant day."[15]

Corney says that he frequently questioned the people and their chiefs about their religion and he found that the common people knew little about it. The chief Keeaumoku told him that he set the wooden gods at defiance. The chief said: "The priests are all liars and the white man's God is the true and only God."

"The Sandwich Islanders," Corney continues, "have entirely abolished human sacrifices. All the time I have been in the Islands I have not known a single instance of the sacrifice of a human being."[16]

His description of the vegetables and fruit, grown from seeds and plants left by Cook, Vancouver and others, is of interest as showing the advances made. Manini had a large herd of cattle and made butter and cheese.

Bingham says of this Manini or Don Marin, that he gave assistance to Kamehameha in advice in secular affairs with

13 Peter Corney Voyages, reprinted by Thrum 1896, p. 2.
14 Corney, p. 49.
15 Ibid, p. 84.
16 Ibid, p. 102.

Young and Davis. Bloxam in 1825 writes of Manini in the same strain. He says also: "At the sight of the gardens, the fruits and the stone houses, we could not but be struck with the astonishing strides towards civilization these Islanders have made in the very short time since Cook came."[17]

Both Bingham and Stewart, early misisonaries, write of the good life of the trader and resident James Hunnewell, but apart from him and Young one would almost suppose that there had been no civilizing influence at work before 1820. Dibble, however, after telling of the evil doers, writes that the "traders, merchants and commercial agents . . . who had chosen a residence on these shores . . . constituted the center of foreign influence. To characterize that influence as uniformly immoral and pernicious would be doing injustice to worthy individuals."[18]

Bingham seems to include all when he says: "Those who took up their abode with Hawaiians easily accommodated themselves to the native customs, morals and mode of living. To the foreigners, the improvement of the people in letters, morals and religion, seemed hopeless, if at all desirable."[19]

Yet Bingham says that when he reached Honolulu in 1820 a number of foreigners requested him to teach their native wives and children. He names six as "among the number" and these were Holmes, Marin, Beckley, Harbottle, Woodland, Allen and Navarro. Woodland had baptized his children himself as there was no minister to do it.[19] Others had taken the same course, especially Manini (Marin) as we shall see.

It has been my privilege to have met the sons of some of the early traders. In 1904 at Malden, Mass., a Mr. Blanchard introduced himself to me as the son of Captain Blanchard of the Thaddeus. When I met him he was the Senior Warden of St. Paul's Church and he reminded me

17 Voyage of the Blonde, 1826, p. 121.
18 Dibble, p. 186.
19 Bingham, p. 6.

that it was October 18, the anniversary of the farewell service for the missionaries at Park Street Church. The same year I met James M. Hunnewell, the son of the trader mentioned above, who was one of the founders of Brewer & Co. He also was a Churchman and a useful citizen. His son, James Melvin Hunnewell, is a member of St. Paul's Cathedral, Boston, and a member of the Massachusetts legislature.

CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF WHITE RESIDENTS AND THE BREAKING OF THE TABU—ARRIVAL OF THE MISSIONARIES.

The tabu was the chief part of the religious system of the Hawaiians. It was especially hard on the women who were forbidden to eat coconuts, bananas, pork and other choice articles of food on penalty of death. They could not eat with men, even their husbands. If men were found in a canoe, or if one made a noise on a tabu day, the penalty was death.

It was undoubtedly due to the influence of white men, in large degree English Churchmen, that the tabu was broken. Vancouver told Kamehameha that if he sent teachers the tabu system would have to go. When Liholiho was young, a trader on Oahu taught him to read English to some extent, and this man told the Prince that the first step in knowledge would be the abolition of the tabu.[20]

Dibble writes that the testimony of all foreigners was against the tabu from their first arrival. They gave force to this by their example, eating with their wives, etc. "They did more than this, they practiced allurements and placed strong temptations . . . especially before the chiefs to break the tabu. In many instances the allurements succeeded and the people had the opportunity of observing that no harm followed." They also used ridicule which has always made a strong appeal to Hawaiians. But while Kamehameha appreciated the conversation and example of decent white men yet he held to the old gods, and as the high priest as well as King, he left the keeping of the old religion to his son Liholiho, who succeeded him on his death in 1819.

When Kamehameha died, seven chiefs met in council at Kailua in May, 1819, and in an interview with Kaahumanu,

20 Dibble, p. 123-124.

a widow of the King, they requested her to break the tabu. As kuhina nui, with power as a joint governor, her action would be of great weight. She, however, was not ready to take the step, but several chiefs did at once ignore the tabu, men and women eating together, the latter eating bananas and coconuts. A few days later, women, including a chiefess, ate pork. To be consistent, those who broke the tabu discontinued in a measure idolatrous practices.[21]

Still the King and Kaahumanu were not ready to take the great step of abolishing the tabu. However, at Kawaihae, to which place the King had gone, Keopuolani, the mother of Kauikeaouli (later Kamehameha III) sent for her son and, in the presence of the King, ate with the young boy. The King, seeing that no harm followed their action, said: "It is well to renounce the tabu," though he himself refrained from doing so.

On his way to Kailua, while in the canoe, he did eat with the women. When the party reached Kailua a feast was prepared and it was then that Kaahumanu came out openly for the abolition of the tabu. John Parker of Waimea and John Young were present.[22] Kaahumanu rose during the feast and said in effect: "The tabu is broken. Let us live as the white men do." With that, men and women ate together. Here we find an acknowledgment of what had led to Kaahumanu's action.

As soon as possible messengers were sent all over the Islands telling the people what had been done. There was opposition, of course, on the part of some, and heathen rites were practiced for a long time. It should be understood that no direct teaching of the Christian religion had led to this action of the King and Kaahumanu. It came from the breaking down of the fear of the gods, through the Hawaiians observing the actions of the white men and their wives and the ridicule of idolatry by foreigners.[23]

21 Dibble, p. 124.
22 Life of Lucy Thurston, 27.
23 Dibble, pp. 126-127.

COMING OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.

While these events were transpiring in Hawaii, the American Board of Foreign Commissioners (then supported by Congregationalists and Presbyterians) was preparing to send missionaries to Hawaii. The result was that in October, 1819, a company of seven men and their wives, and five children of Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain left Boston on the brig Thaddeus.[24]

When they reached the Islands, the first news which they heard was that the tabu was broken and idolatry abolished. This, the missionaries considered, was a direct answer to their prayers that a way might be opened for the gospel.[25]

Now we come to a striking instance of the influence of English Churchmen on the history of Hawaii. It has been shown already that from the time of Cook the influence of English Churchmen had been great. Their words and conduct had led to such remarkable changes that all navigators mentioned them. They had taught the Hawaiians many trades, had superintended the building of ships and houses and they had led them to abandon human sacrifices and to overthrow their idols.

When the missionaries reached Kailua, the chiefs, who remembered the promise of Vancouver to send teachers, were in doubt whether these Americans should be allowed to land and some white men advised against it.

To consider the matter a council of chiefs was called among them being the high chief John Young or "Holohana," as the Hawaiians called him. On the action of that council much depended. The chiefs asked John Young for his advice. The memory of the English Churchman, Vancouver, was a powerful factor in their decision. They knew that Young had been trusted by Vancouver and was of his religion. They wanted to know what their friend, the great navigator, would wish to be done. It was this Anglican

24 Life of Lucy Thurston, p. 13.
25 Ibid, pp. 26-27.

Churchman Young who turned the scale in favor of the Americans. Of his reply Dibble writes: "He gave his decided advice in favor of the missionaries and said to the King and chiefs, 'missionaries from America are the same as missionaries from England; they worship the same God and teach the same religion.' The whole weight of Vancouver's advice turned in favor of receiving the missionaries who had arrived."[26]

But there was still some little doubt and at first they were told that permission would be given them to reside on the Islands for one year. It was suggested that John Young be ordered to write to England to tell the authorities of the landing of the Americans and to ascertain whether there was any objection. It is not too much to say that the influence of Anglican Churchmen led to the kind treatment which the missionaries received and the aid and encouragement which the chiefs accorded them. If Young, the friend and confidant of the great Kamehameha, had raised an objection, the American mission would not have been established at that time.

26 Dibble, pp. 137-8.

CHAPTER V

PERIOD 1820-1840

So far, the influence of Anglican Churchmen has been considered up to 1820, with mention of progress in Hawaii up to the coming of the missionaries. It is not within the scope of this book to go into details concerning the noble character and the self sacrificing labors of the men and women sent out by the American Board. That has been frequently and ably done. No one can understand the history of Hawaii, and the growth of American influence, unless he is familiar with the story of the American missionaries, but here this can have only brief reference.

In November 1823, Kamehameha II, usually called Liholiho, with his wife, embarked for England, for the purpose, among other things, to remind the authorities of Great Britain of Vancouver's promise. It has been noted already that Ellis said Vancouver never mentioned anything about such a promise. That is true, but the passage already given from the preface to the translation of the Prayer Book by Kamehameha IV, and John Young's words, which led to the landing of the missionaries, show that the promise was made. In addition are Vancouver's words quoted by Dibble: "I am returning to England and shall use my endeavors to have ministers of the gospel sent to you."[1] It is certain that the King and chiefs still looked to England for teachers as well as for protection.

There was at this early day, as later, a feeling of antagonism between English and American residents and traders. The King and chiefs knew more of England than they did of America, and the memory of Vancouver was a strong influence among the chiefs. Ellis says that the King, Liholiho,

1 Dibble, p. 123.

sought to remind the English authorities of the desired British protectorate, and to study the administration of justice in England.[2]

The accounts of the character of Liholiho given by Dibble and Ellis differ widely. Dibble presents the King as dissipated and dissolute. Ellis attributes his failings to the bad example of others, but maintains that he "was studious, kind, humane and had decision and enterprise," and that "his mental habits were commendable. He declared his conviction in the truth of Christianity and attended public worship."[3] Ellis knew Liholiho personally and was his daily teacher, while Dibble did not arrive in the Islands until December 1830, or six years after the King died.

Ellis was a widely travelled man and had a larger and more tolerant view of human nature than the strict New England writers had, who picture Liholiho as a reckless and altogether worthless man.

In England the King and Queen were received with every attention. Unfortunately, a month after their arrival, despite every care, they both died of the measles, which Dibble considered a providential occurrence for the American Mission.[4]

Ellis says that on the return of the chief Boki, who had accompanied Liholiho, he reported his interview with the King of England, who advised the chief to return to Hawaii and work for the righteousness of the people. This, Ellis said, confirmed the attachment and confidence so long felt towards England.[5] Being an Englishman he naturally wrote from the standpoint of his countrymen.

It is well to keep in mind, in order to understand fully what follows, that from the relations of Hawaiian chiefs with Englishmen, Young, Davis, Vancouver and many others, there lingered a desire for teachers of the Church of England which culminated in the correspondence of Kamehameha IV

2 Ellis, p. 328.
3 Ibid, p. 337-338.
4 Dibble, p. 167.
5 Ellis, p. 340.

with Bishops in England and America with reference to their undertaking work in Hawaii.

The bodies of Liholiho and the Queen were brought to Hawaii in H. M. S. Blonde, which arrived in Honolulu in May 1825. On board was a Church Chaplain, the Rev. R. Bloxam, who, during the voyage baptized Liliha and Kekuanaoa (the father of Kamehameha IV), who became one of the first trustees of the Church under Bishop Staley. It was this Chaplain who read the Burial Service from the Prayer Book over the bodies of the royal personages, Mr. Bingham making an address in Hawaiian.[6] The interment was in the grounds of what is now the Palace or Executive Building. When the coffins were removed to Nuuanu, the site of the former tomb was marked by a circular hedge which may be seen today.

It is evident that the chaplain of the Blonde did not like the policy of the American missionaries as he understood it. He writes that they were "acquiring a degree of private and public importance" which he deplores. He continues: "We believe mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see, but we fear the love of power has mingled with the zeal." He believed that "through influence with the chiefs they were trying to govern the country."

He cites as a proof of their influence the occasion of a stereoptican exhibition which the officers of the Blonde had arranged for a Saturday night, of which due notice had been given. When "the company assembled, and among the rest the little King and princes, notice was given that on the approach of the Sabbath, prayer was a fitter employment. Accordingly the two poor children were carried off in tears and many of the chiefs and people followed. . . Kaleimoku and Kaahumanu however staid . . . and were charmed." Bloxam was indignant and wrote of the occurrence: "The intemperate indecency on the part of the mission seems to

6 Voyage of the Blonde, London, 1826, p. 126.

have occurred to some of the more reasonable among themselves." Mr. Stewart had advised the missionaries to adjourn their meeting, go in a body to the theater, see the show and then return to prayers. This advice was not followed and the "phantasmagoria was played to a thin house."

Mr. Bingham wrote to Lord Byron, commander of the Blonde, saying that a number of chiefs had been accustomed to meet on Saturday evening to prepare for the "Sabbath"; that when he had been asked for his advice about going to the show he had told them to act as they saw fit.[7]

Chaplain Bloxam particularly disliked Bingham, who, he wrote, acted as "Secretary of State, governor of the young princes, director of consciences and controller of amusements."[8] Perhaps the judgment of Bloxam was influenced by Charlton, the obnoxious British consul at that time.

Lord Byron was invited to a council of chiefs at which, besides the natives, there were present several American merchants and two missionaries. After several chiefs had spoken Lord Byron was asked whether "the King of England had any objection to the settling of the American missionaries in the Islands." He replied "that he had heard that the missionaries had an intention of drawing up a code of laws and to this he decidedly objected, but as long as these gentlemen did not interfere with the laws or commerce of the country he could not object to their teaching the natives in reading and in the Christian religion."

Mr. Bingham in reply on behalf of the mission stated: "that the American missionaries had neither the design nor the wish to interfere with the political or commercial concerns of the country, being expressly prohibited by their commission . . . from any such interference . . . their sole purpose was the propagation of the gospel."

What was said at this council by the chiefs illustrates the warm sentiment which they felt towards England and their

7 Voyage of the Blonde, p. 150.
8 Ibid, p. 111.

dependence on that country for protection. Boki said that while he was in England "King George had consented to watch over the Islands, and that if ships of war from other nations came he would drive them away."[9] At this meeting Boki plead for laws as in England. "He wished to be allowed to cook and bathe on Sundays," things the misisonaries had forbidden, so wrote J. Macrae, the botanist with the Blonde (printed by W. F. Wilson, 1922).

Lord Byron handed the chiefs a paper containing a few hints concerning their affairs, saying, "if they approved of them to adopt them as their own, but not as the dictates of the British government, which had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs."[10]

There can be no doubt that the influence of the missionaries over the chiefs was very great and that it continued to be so. As a body they avoided interference but their advice and influence was shown in future legislation. However good the laws enacted were, there were objectors among the foreigners to the influence of the missionaries. There were also natives who objected. Bloxam says that "the assumption of power by the mission had created the greatest jealousy in the minds of the chiefs."[11]

While in Hawaiian waters Bloxam, according to naval regulations, must have held services regularly, but he mentions only one as occurring Sunday, June 12, 1825. James Macrae, however, wrote of "Church service as usual" on board in Honolulu harbor on May 15 and June 5, 1825. These instances are the first Prayer Book services mentioned other than the burial office, on the four occasions as already recorded.

It is interesting to note that the first Eucharist celebrated in Hawaii which is a matter of record, was when a Russian priest, who was with Kotzebue, officiated in 1816, according

9 Voyage of the Blonde, p. 153.
10 Ibid, p. 155.
11 Voyage of the Blonde, p. 149.

to the rite of the Greek Church. In 1819 a French priest on the Uranie with Freycinet celebrated mass in Honolulu harbor.

As to the first baptisms in Hawaii, the Roman Catholic priest with Freycinet baptized two chiefs. But these were not the first baptisms. Manini told Freycinet that he had baptized some two hundred Hawaiians, when they were at the point of death, hoping by the rite, as he said, to ensure their salvation.

Lord Byron was a cousin of the poet. We find in him another English Churchman whose influence was for good. He encouraged the people to listen to the teaching of the missionaries, and by kindness and simplicity, gained the confidence of the chiefs.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the missionaries had soon acquired large influence in Hawaii. Of course, at first, they had to suffer privations and discomforts. They had to live in grass houses and to eat food with which they were not familiar. Whatever some chiefs and white men had in the way of stone houses and household furniture, these Americans (and the reinforcements which followed) did not have for some time. They of course missed congenial society and found, as they must have expected, that the natives had few moral ideas such as prevailed in New England. Conditions to them seemed appalling, but they went to work with courage and ability.

They had a strange language to learn and reduce to writing, but they found eager and apt pupils among the chiefs when they began to teach. Nowhere in any field have missionaries received more kindliness and helpfulness than did these in Hawaii. There were causes for joy and for sorrow, for encouragement and disappointment, but they went on with their task.

Though conversions were few in the early years, they came like a torrent in the great revival in 1838-9—when ten

thousand converts were admitted as members in one year. Naturally, as in such times of excitement, there were many outward conversions without inward change, yet there were among them many shining examples of fidelity, devotion and helpfulness.

The rules and regulations set by the missionaries were stern and strict and constituted burdens too great for the free and easy Hawaiians. It was the aim of these teachers to transform a Hawaiian village into the likeness of a New England small town. It was of course an impossible task and no teaching and example and no laws, however rigorous, could accomplish it.

I believe that Jarves in his "Confessions" gives a truthful picture of missionary life at this period. He came here for his health in 1837 and at first spent some time with his uncle, who was a missionary. He tried farming for a while and then became editor of the Polynesian, remaining in Hawaii five years. He was a man of the world and some of his criticisms of the missionaries were quite caustic. His words of commendation, therefore, are of greater value than those of a partisan.

On pages 171-2 he tells of the stone house in which his uncle lived in 1837. "The furniture was abundant and comfortable and good without any pretensions. The domestic arrangements were a wholesome example to his flock. My uncle was more than a preacher, he was an active civilizer and tamer of the rude native. My aunt could work, scold, preach, wash, bake, pray, catechize, make dresses, plant, pluck, drive stray pigs out of the garden. There was nothing useful in this wilderness which she could not do.

"She exercised an influence from her energy and practical virtue which bordered on absolute authority. As I walked with her through the village, her presence operated as a civilizing tonic. True, the effect in many cases was transient. But the natives knew what she expected. As she

appeared, tobacco pipes disappeared, idle games or gambling were slyly put by, Bible and hymn books brought conspicuously forward and the young girls hastily donned their chastest dresses and looks. . . .

"After many experiences in mission households, it is but simple justice to say, that if the Christian public in America have liberally supplied them with comforts, they are ever ready to dispense hospitality to the full extent of their means. . . . Both the Government and public sentiment favored my uncle. He had little or no opposition from vagrant whites. The theology taught, though based on fear, had been modified by love of the divine Being. To hear them preach, you would suppose all mankind damnable scoundrels, to see them act, you felt sure that they did not at heart feel that the human race was so unmitigatedly bad after all."

This was an age when the hardships of missionaries made a strong appeal to friends at home and the missionaries knew this, but a wide reading of correspondence and books, fails to show that they wrote back in a whining or complaining manner, but rather, cheerfully, hopefully and sometimes humorously. The strong appeal was that the Hawaiians were perishing souls and should be saved from eternal death. This is mentioned again and again by all the missionary writers.[12] According to the general belief of the age, they were in Hawaii to save the people from damnation. Yet it is a puzzle why strict Calvinists should worry about this, if some were elected to be saved and others to be damned. But whether their position seems reasonable or not, it is remarkable what they had accomplished in twenty years.

12 Lucy Thurston, p. 5, Dibble, p. 147, et al.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN ANGLICAN CLERGYMAN. FIRST REGULAR ANGLICAN SERVICES.

After the sandal wood trade ceased, whalers from New England came in large numbers to carry on their business in Northern waters and sometimes hundreds of them wintered at Honolulu, Lahaina and Kawaihae. In 1830 the Rev. Samuel Whitney wrote to the Seamen's Friend Society, New York, asking that a chaplain be sent to Honolulu. This Society was supported by several denominations and the corresponding secretary was at that time a priest of the Episcopal Church, the Rev. Charles P. McIlvane, who, in 1833, was elected Bishop of Ohio. The result of the correspondence was that the Rev. John Diel came to Honolulu in 1833 and the same year the Bethel Chapel was built near what is now the makai-Ewa corner of King and Bethel Sts. Mr. Diel remained until 1840.

In 1840 Captain Wilkes, commanding the United States exploring expedition, arrived in Hawaiian waters. On the flagship was a chaplain, the Rev. J. L. Elliot, who was a Churchman and who, of course, held Church services on board during the stay of the expedition.

At this time numerous reports had been circulated in the United States by traders, many of whom evidently disliked the influence of the missionaries. These men accused them of interfering with government affairs, whereas the truth is that the King sought their advice and aid, and urged some of them to take office under him. Such men were the Rev. William Richards, the Rev. Richard Armstrong and Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, who were released from the mission and at different times entered the service of the King and country. The first two became ministers of Public Instruction, and the

last, at various times, Minister of Finance, Adviser to the King, special Envoy to France, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Interior and Recorder.

There is no doubt, to the impartial investigator, that these men rendered efficient, painstaking, loyal and invaluable service. But there grew up a jealousy among the many foreign residents in regard to the influence of the missionaries, which showed itself in numerous ways. But Jarves asks the question, "Have the missionaries suffered more from foul mouthed charges than from fulsome praise equally disgusting?"

Two men who did more than any others to correct a wrong impression by giving a calm, unbiased and impartial view of the situation were Captain Wilkes (1840) and Richard Henry Dana (1860).[1] Both of these men were Churchmen, as their relations, whom I have met, are today. In the spirit of the age, which was usually intolerant, these two men would naturally have had a prejudice against Calvinism, which most of the missionaries taught. These Churchmen wrote plainly of the missionaries and their work, their successes and failures, and did much to correct false impressions which prevailed in many quarters in America and England in the forties and fifties. Dana criticised the baldness of worship and other things, but his criticism is small compared with that made to me by several sons of the missionaries. The latter have said, for instance, that it was a great mistake to discountenance the outdoor sports of the Hawaiians, but this course was certainly taken because they were accompanied by gambling and other evil practices.

For a time some missionaries forbade smoking, and one son of a missionary told me that he once went into his father's garden and found a Hawaiian gardener smoking. The native said, "K—— don't tell your father that I am smoking. I don't want to be put out of the church, but I have been read-

1 Letter by Dana, copy in author's possession.

ing my Bible and find that it is not what a man puts into his mouth which defiles him but what comes out of it." The missionary, the Rev. C. S. Stewart, said that he once asked a native what was the chief commandment, and the answer was, "Do not smoke tobacco."[2]

Hawaiians who went to sea on the whalers came back with stories that native Christians were forbidden to do things which white men did freely, as old Hawaiian sailors have told me. These restrictions undoubtedly contributed to the success of the Roman Catholic Mission, which was commenced in 1827, and after much trouble was established in 1837. The Roman priests told the people that many of the forbidden things were harmless in themselves. This, and zealous work attracted many converts. The opposition of Hawaiian authorities to the Roman Mission was ascribed to the direct advice of the American missionaries, but an investigation by the American consul, P. A. Brinsmade, a Churchman, showed that the accusation was not well founded, as regards the organization, whatever the influence of the missionaries as individuals might have been, and this was undoubtedly strongly anti-Roman Catholic.

There were, as might naturally be supposed, differences of opinion among the missionaries on various matters. This was shown at the time of the great revival in 1838 when great numbers of conversions and baptisms were reported by the Rev. Titus Coan of Hilo, and others. The son of a missionary told me that his father had little confidence in the methods used. He said that the natives would ask those admitted to baptism what questions were asked and what answers they had given as to their spiritual experience and thus primed they would go to the missionary. Father Alexander wrote that they were "more anxious to get into the church than how to secure eternal life."[3] But such incidents do not detract from the real work done by the noble men and women

2 The making of Hawaii. Blackman, p. 79 (Quoting C. S. Stewart)
3 Memoir of the Rev. William P. Alexander, p. 95.

in bringing a people out of the sad condition of heathenism into that knowledge which gradually led to better things.

FIRST REGULAR SERVICES

The first regular public services of the Anglican Church, as far as can be ascertained, were held in the Bethel Chapel after the departure of the Rev. Mr. Diel. The Polynesian for July 25, 1840, contains the following: "Episcopal service was read with a sermon in the Chapel by P. A. Brinsmade, Esq., who will continue the same until the pulpit is regularly supplied." He evidently acted as lay-reader for a long period of time for in October, 1841, a New York Church paper stated that a letter had been written to the Missionary Committee in that city asking that a clergyman be sent to Honolulu. The item reads: "Seldom has a more interesting application come before the Committee than that an Episcopal clergyman be sent to be resident in Honolulu. The foreign residents, about forty families, desire the services of the Church. On the failure of the health of the former (seamen's) chaplain the service had been actually commenced by the American Consul. The pledge of one half of the needful expense and a chapel and parsonage to be provided are sufficient evidence that the labors of a missionary of our Church would be appreciated in that group of Islands." The regret which must have been felt at the failure to grant the request was somewhat lessened by the coming of another seamen's chaplain in the person of the Rev. S. C. Damon in 1842. This godly man ministered to all Christian people as far as he could in an impartial and tolerant spirit. He was always ready to use the Prayer Book services at baptisms, marriages and burials upon request. If a priest of the Church was in the town he extended the use of the Chapel for services. In 1845 the U. S. S. Brandywine was in port, the chaplain of the ship, the Rev. George Jones, a priest of the Church, held service, using the Prayer Book and preaching on Sunday evenings during the ten weeks of his stay. Appreciation of

the services and the courtesy of Mr. Damon are mentioned in the Polynesian.

Still there were those who earnestly desired a resident priest of the Church. The editor of the Polynesian of July 13, 1844, says that, "in conversing with people who desired a Church other than the Bethel, they have unanimously expressed their opinion in favor of a selection from the Episcopal Church and this opinion is mainly from those not of that faith themselves, but consider her discipline and doctrine as best calculated to unite a community in which so great a diversity of opinions on religious subjects prevails." This is a remarkable recognition for that time of the breadth and tolerance of this Church.

In later numbers of the Polynesian the subject of the Church is frequently mentioned.

In 1844 R. C. Wyllie, a Scotchman, arrived in Honolulu and next year was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. For twenty years he devoted himself and his fortune to the interests of Hawaii. The archives building contains in his handwriting copies of thousands of letters which he wrote. He soon became interested in bringing the Church to Hawaii. In January, 1847, through the Polynesian, he notified all residents belonging to the Episcopal Church that a gentleman, a former resident, would give $1000 towards the erection of a suitable church building, provided that $4000 was subscribed in Honolulu. On January 27 he issued a circular, as follows:

"The King (Kamehameha III) has ordered me to ascertain the feelings of the foreign community in regard to the want of an Episcopal church or chapel and the willingness to subscribe to its support. Admiral Thomas, so generally known to and respected by the inhabitants, has kindly offered his good offices toward procuring a properly qualified clergyman of that denomination, provided he can obtain a suitable provision for his support. Those who are favorable to the project are requested to subscribe their names, stating the

amount they are willing to pay yearly for so many sittings, to be transferred to others if they should leave the Islands."

The Polynesian says: "It is not essential that the clergyman should be an Englishman, nor is it intended that the Church should have a foreign national character."

We hear nothing more of this effort. Perhaps the discovery of gold in California in 1848 affected the matter, as it led to an exodus from the Islands.

In 1852 regular Prayer Book services were held here. The Rev. Mr. Damon, in a sermon preached on his twentieth anniversary, said that when he returned from California he found "a Rev. Mr. Smeathman, a deacon of the Episcopal Church, officiating."[4] The congregation which assembled occupied the Mauna Kilika building. This stood in the neighborhood of what is now the American Factors building. On April 21, 1852, the Argus has the following:

EPISCOPAL CHURCH FUND.

"We have much pleasure in noticing the growing interest manifested by the community in the performance of the beautiful service of the liturgy of the Episcopal Church at Mauna Kilika which was rendered still more attractive on Sunday last by the addition of an efficient choir of instrumental and vocal music, ably presided over by a lady, whose kindness in volunteering her perfect execution of the fine music of the service, can not be too highly commended. We are glad to learn that it will be repeated next Sunday." This is the first mention of a Church choir. In connection with this service a notice of April 24 reads: "Episcopal Church. The committee of subscribers to the above fund request a meeting at the front room of Mr. Janion's premises, Merchant Street, this day at three P. M." Mr. Damon says that Mr. Smeathman continued services for about six months but left for want of encouragement and because of ill health.

When I was at New Haven, Connecticut, in 1907 I met

[4] Sermon printed in The Friend.

a Miss Gower who told me that her name was Makawao, she having been born in that place. Her father lived at Lahaina for four or five years and held service regularly for his family in his house. The late Mrs. F. Spencer Bickerton told me that being in Lahaina with her father as a young girl, she attended service at Mr. Gower's residence. She said officers from whaling ships sometimes attended. No doubt there were others who held service in their own houses, in fact, some instances are known to me, one being at the home of the British Consul.

QUEEN EMMA
Consort of Kamehameha IV—Granddaughter of John Young.

CHAPTER VII

KAMEHAMEHA IV AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH. QUEEN EMMA. R. C. WYLLIE. BISHOP STALEY ARRIVES. THE KING'S DEATH.

In 1855 Kamehameha IV came to the throne. When he and his brother were in England in Dr. Judd's charge, he had attended Church services and was greatly attracted by them. He recorded in his diary his impressions of a service in Westminster Abbey.[1] Later he became remarkably well informed as to the history of the Church as an integral part of the Catholic and Apostolic organization. When he married Emma Rooke, the adopted daughter of the Englishman Dr. Rooke, the Prayer Book service was used at the request of the contracting parties by the Rev. R. Armstrong.

It is important to note that the first official request that a clergyman be sent to Honolulu, was made to the Right Rev. Ingraham Kip, Bishop of California, and by his efforts the Anglican Mission was ultimately brought to Hawaii. After Bishop Staley's consecration, the press on the mainland made the charge that his mission to the Islands originated in a "political object on the part of the English government" and that Bishop Staley was sent out as a "political missionary." In September, 1866, Bishop Kip wrote a letter to the Pacific Churchman on the subject. He said: "Previous to 1860 I had received repeated applications from the Islands to send a clergyman. The late Hon. R. C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Affairs, several times wrote to me on the subject. Unfortunately, we had no clergyman to spare. I applied to the Missionary Committee in New York but received no encouragement.

"In the summer of 1860 I went to England. During the

[1] Five Years' Church Work, Bishop Staley, 1868, p. 10.

previous spring, Mr. Wyllie (knowing my intention), again wrote to me by direction of the late King (Kamehameha IV), requesting me to make an arrangement for them in England, to which Church he had already applied. A number of letters on the subject passed, mine being submitted to the King and the answer being dictated by him to Mr. Wyllie. Hopeless of obtaining any clergy from our own country, I agreed to further that object in England. Accordingly, when in London in July, 1860, I brought the matter before the Bishops of Oxford and London, both of whom entered heartily into it. . . . It was agreed that it should be a joint mission, that two or three clergy should be sent out by the Church of England and the same number by the American Church, when practicable. The animus of the whole affair was shown in a remark by the Bishop of London. 'I am happy,' said he, 'that the application for this mission comes from an American Bishop so that it can not be said that the Church of England is obtruding itself on the Islands.'

"A public meeting was called and I was requested to be present. As I had an engagement which prevented my attendance, I wrote a long letter to the Bishop of Oxford giving the necessary explanations. He later told me that the letter was read and placed on file for future use.

"I would mention also that the Bishop of New York, (Horatio Potter) who was then in England, being consulted, gave his cordial approbation to the measure.

"The application which I made had reference only to sending some clergy. The plan was afterwards expanded to embrace the sending of a Bishop as head of the Mission, wisely presenting the Church in its entireness."

He adds: "It must be very evident that a measure inaugurated at the request of an American Bishop was not intended to increase English influence in the Islands."

The communication is signed, William Ingraham Kip, Bishop of California.

Little did I imagine, while entertaining Bishop Kip in St. Paul's Rectory, San Diego, in the 80's, that I should be sent as the first American Bishop to Hawaii!

It was early in 1861 that the Bishop of Oxford, in the Upper House of Convocation stated "That the King of the Sandwich Islands was most anxious to see a Bishop of the Church of England" sent to his dominions. He further said the King "proposes to make the Bishop Preceptor to the Crown Prince." Also that "the Queen (Emma) had written a letter in most excellent English, begging her Majesty (Victoria) to give all the assistance she could in sending out a Bishop of the Church."

A Committee was formed of those who sympathized with the movement, several members of which were members of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

Within a month the Bishop of Oxford made a speech in Convocation advocating the measure and stating that the King (Kamehameha IV) on his own behalf would give a site for a church and parsonage and two hundred pounds yearly. He said it was probable that a grant of land might be given for the support of the mission.

After discussion it was decided that a royal license would be necessary for the consecration of the one selected as Bishop. This was obtained and on December 15, 1861, the Rev. Thomas Nettleship Staley, fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and a tutor of St. Mark's College, Chelsea, was consecrated Bishop for Honolulu by the Primate Archbishop Sumner and the Bishops of Oxford and London.[2]

The missionary party sailed from Southampton for Panama on August 17, 1862. It consisted of the Bishop and Mrs. Staley and seven children, the Rev. G. Mason, wife and daughter, and the Rev. E. Ibbotson. They arrived in San Francisco on September 24, where Bishop Kip of California

[2] Bishop Staley, p. 17.

and the American clergy gave them every attention possible.

A matter of especial local interest is found in an article by Miss Marie von Holt, written in 1902. She gathered the facts from the late Mrs. G. M. Robertson, widow of the Chief Justice. Mrs. Robertson's home was then in Emma Square where St. Andrew's Priory now stands.

In 1862, Mrs. Robertson, her mother and youngest child, Margaret, sailed for California on their way to visit relations in England and it was arranged that Judge Robertson should board with friends, and that the Bishop should occupy his house when he reached Honolulu. But the child Margaret died a few days before California was reached and Mrs. Robertson decided to return to the Islands on the same ship on which she had come to San Francisco. When this ship, the Comet, was ready to sail, a message came to delay her departure, as a large party was coming aboard. The passengers proved to be Bishop Staley and company, which with two nurses for the Bishop's children numbered fifteen souls.

The Comet arrived off Honolulu on October 11, and when the pilot came on board, the first news which he gave was that the Prince of Hawaii was dead. The Bishop was to have baptized the child but when it was seen that he would die, the Rev. E. W. Clark, a Congregationalist minister, baptized him. Queen Victoria was to have been the godmother and she had sent out an appropriate gift.[3] The stone font for the baptism had been given by Lady Jane Franklin who came to the Islands to obtain from the whalers, if possible, some news of her husband, Sir John Franklin, the Arctic explorer, of whom nothing had been heard since 1845. The font (now in St. Andrew's Cathedral) has on its base an inscription giving the name of the donor and stating that the gift was made on the occasion of the Baptism of the Prince of Hawaii. During her stay Lady Franklin was the guest of R. C. Wyllie.

The death of the Prince was felt by the Bishop and party

[3] Bishop Staley, pp. 20, 21.

to be a great blow to the work which was to be undertaken.

When the Comet came to anchor, R. C. Wyllie and D. L. Gregg, the Minister of Finance, an American, came on board to receive the Mission in the King's name. On landing, the royal carriage conveyed the Bishop to his temporary residence. It was a house in the Palace grounds at the mauka Ewa corner of the lot, where the old bungalow used to stand. Mrs. Robertson's return had changed the former plans for the accommodation of the Bishop.

Old residents have said there was great consternation when the size of the Bishop's party became known, as only a tutor for the Prince had been expected.

The Comet had arrived on Saturday and arrangements for services next day were hastily made, a building on the corner of Kukui Street and Nuuanu Avenue having been prepared. In this building later a congregation of Japanese worshipped until it was torn down some years ago. Here the Holy Communion was celebrated at an early hour and at eleven o'clock Morning Prayer was said, a crowded congregation being present. Mr. Mason was the preacher.

The King and Queen, who had gone into the country after their sorrow, returned the following week, when, the Bishop, accompanied by Mr. Wyllie, called on them. The King stated that he had completed the translation into Hawaiian of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany and that the copy was in the hands of the printer. Asked about the Psalms he said that there was a translation in the Hawaiian Bible but it needed revision. He recommended the enlargement of the temporary church and this was done at once by adding an aisle.

On Sunday October 19 the Bishop preached his inaugural sermon when the King and Queen were present.[4]

On October 21, the baptism of Queen Emma took place, a large number of chiefs and prominent foreigners being

[4] This and much that follows from Bishop Staley's "Five Years."

present. The first Cathedral parish register is an interesting and valuable book. The first entry records the baptism of Queen Emma.

On October 23 a meeting was held in the court house, Attorney General C. C. Harris presiding. The King was present and resolutions were adopted welcoming the Mission and pledges were made towards its support. It was also resolved that application be made at once for a charter of incorporation under the name of the Reformed Catholic Church, which name it retained until Bishop Willis took charge when it was changed to the Anglican Church in Hawaii. The old deeds read "to the Reformed Catholic Church."

On November 9, for the first time, Morning Prayer was said in Hawaiian. The sermon was also in that language. It had been written and then the King had corrected it and had heard the preacher read it over several times in order that he might get satisfactory pronunciation.

After due instruction the King and Queen were confirmed on November 28. By that time there was a surpliced choir of men and boys and the service was made the occasion of an elaborate function which was attended by the House of Nobles and the consular body.

On November 30, R. C. Wyllie, Prime Minister, G. M. Robertson, Vice-Chancellor, and C. C. Harris, Attorney General, were confirmed, and these with the King and Queen made their first communion on the first Sunday in Advent. David Kalakaua was confirmed on December 21.

The American and English Churchmen who had worshipped heretofore at the Bethel under the Rev. S. C. Damon, on the arrival of Bishop Staley, made preparations to attend their own service. This is spoken of in a newspaper of the day which also records an interesting event at the Seamen's Chapel when Mr. Damon officiated at the marriage of Mr. J. H. F. von Holt to Miss Alice Brown.

At the close of the marriage service, Mr. Wyllie arose and

THOMAS NETTLESHIP STALEY, D. D.
First Bishop of Honolulu
1862–1870

addressing Mr. Damon said: "The undersigned, who, having no church of their own, have for years worshipped in the Bethel, of which you are pastor, deriving much instruction from your ministrations, and still more from your holy walk and conversation, pray you to accept, as a memorial of their love and gratitude to you, a silver salver which will be presented to you with this letter. The undersigned pray that it may please God to preserve in health and happiness a life which precept and example combine to render so valuable to all classes of this community."

The presentation was made by Miss Mary Luce, daughter of Captain Luce, who was long prominent in the Cathedral, which still numbers among its faithful communicants some of his descendants.

Among other signatures to the letter were: R. C. Wyllie, H. J. H. Holdsworth, George H. Luce, Thomas Brown, Theophilus H. Davies, D. Smith, Mrs. Monsarrat, Mrs. Dudoit, Mrs. E. A. Cartwright, Mrs. J. M. Greene.

Miss Alice Brown, the bride of the occasion, was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Brown, who had come to the Islands in 1845 and settled on Kauai to plant coffee, but later moved to Honolulu and entered the government service. Mrs. von Holt, afterwards Mrs. Mackintosh, told the writer that her father once ordered same caraway seeds from England and to his surprise a whole keg of them arrived! In 1902 she said they still had some! But this is a digression!

The spirit of Mr. Damon is shown in The Friend of November 1862 when he writes: "We earnestly pray that the (Anglican) Mission may enjoy a prosperous career and be instrumental in imparting a deeper religious and spiritual earnestness to the churches already existing, as well as be the agency which the Holy Spirit shall employ to awaken many souls."

On Christmas Eve at 11:30 the church was a blaze of light, the King having lent all his silver candelabra. After

service guns were fired from Punchbowl, and lighted tar barrels rolled down the hill. A procession was formed, the King, the Bishop and W. M. F. Singe, the British representative, walking together. The King had provided twenty torch bearers and there was a vested choir of twenty. The procession marched through the streets singing Christmas hymns, and at the Palace fireworks were set off, and the large crowd which had gathered cheered the King and Queen.

In the year that followed the arrival of the Bishop, steady progress was made in Church work. Schools were opened as we shall see later. A Guild of communicants was organized to visit people and to "make known Church principles, as distinguished from Romanism and Calvinism," and "to look out people for confirmation." Kalakaua was a member of this Guild.[5]

A great blow fell upon the Mission on St. Andrew's Day 1863 when Kamehameha IV died. Although he had been ill some time, yet his end was sudden. The Bishop was called but arrived too late, but Mr. Wyllie, who was present, had offered the commendatory prayer. The Queen and others of the royal family were present and the Bishop had prayers with them.

At that time the old custom of wailing was practiced, and while the body lay in state and at the burial, this cry of the Hawaiians was heard far off. This wailing was heard at subsequent royal funerals but had ceased to be practiced at the burial of alii after 1902, but I have heard this weird and piteous cry at burials and a similar one when a relative not seen for a long time arrives at a village.

Pending the burial, which was two months later, the foundation of the Royal Mausoleum was laid, which, when completed, was consecrated by Bishop Staley.

The funeral of the King is fully described in Bishop Staley's "Five Years of Church Work" published in 1868.

5 Bishop Staley's Five Years.

It will be sufficient to say that with its impressive pomp and display it was like other burials of royal persons which the older residents of Honolulu have seen.

The burial service was taken by Bishop Staley, the first part being said in the temporary Cathedral, the Rev. Mr. Elkington, who had recently arrived from England, presiding at the organ. The long procession, consisting of officials, the clergy of several denominations, school children and others, walked up Nuuanu Avenue to the Royal Mausoleum, where the last part of the burial office was said.

Kamehameha IV, at his death, lacked eight days of being thirty years old. He was the son of Kinau, a daughter of Kamehameha I, and Kekuanaoa, who had been baptized on the Blonde and he was one of the incorporators of the "Reformed Catholic Church." The King was an educated man, familiar with the best English literature and a master of the Hawaiian language. He was deeply interested in the welfare of his people, visiting their houses when the epidemic of smallpox prevailed, and, with the Queen, founded the Queen's Hospital in 1860, for which he solicited funds from door to door and to which his consort left a large endowment. He had at times been given to excesses, but Bishop Staley and Archdeacon Mason believed that his devotions showed that he was a penitent and sincere man.

In the archives building are preserved the customary letters of condolence which kings and potentates send to a nation on the death of a monarch.

CHAPTER VIII

DIFFICULTIES WHICH BESET THE CHURCH.

Not only did the deaths which we have chronicled affect the work but other difficulties were encountered. Dr. Pusey and the saintly Keble, with others of their type of Churchmanship, had been deeply interested in the Mission. They were anxious that it should reflect their idea of the Catholic character of the Church in its teaching and practice. We see this in the name which, probably, was suggested by them. It was also seen in the fact that the office for Holy Communion from the first Prayer Book of Edward VI had been printed in pamphlet form for use in Hawaii. The services, as conducted by the Bishop and clergy were not of the kind to which American and English Churchmen who were residents had been accustomed. They did not like many things, such as the use of colored Eucharistic vestments, many lights and other things, and this led to a great deal of dissatisfaction, and later to a modification of the ritual.

Then there was, on the part of the old missionary element generally, a sharp criticism of the English Mission. There were still many, here and on the mainland, who believed that its object was intended to promote British interests. We have seen before that, as far as the English Church authorities are concerned, the suspicion was not based on facts, and that Bishop Kip of California, of an old New York Dutch family, was really the one whose efforts resulted in its establishment. The English government had nothing whatever to do with the matter. It is true that as a matter of form, a royal license had to be given for the consecration of the man selected for the Bishopric, but that was all. It was to have been a joint mission from England and America but the civil war prevented this from being carried out by the Americans,

though later they did for a time participate in the work as we shall see.

Notwithstanding the facts given, after reading all that is available on the subject and from conversations with those who lived here at the time, or with the sons and daughters of these men, I am convinced that the coming of the English Mission had a political significance to the King and Queen, to Mr. Wyllie and other Englishmen and Hawaiians who were near to the King.

Mr. Wyllie had striven, since his arrival in the Islands, to make sure the independence of Hawaii. All his actions show this. He saw that the influence of the missionaries and other Americans tended to lead ultimately to annexation, and he believed that if the Church of England was at work here it would counteract, in a measure, American influence. It is true that the missionaries and their families had a deep affection for the existing order, but Mr. Wyllie knew that they were Americans and Republicans at heart. There was at the time a large British element in Hawaii and the belief was that the existing régime would be strengthened if the Church of England were strong here.

Queen Emma's sympathies were decidedly English. She was the granddaughter of an Englishman. The man in whose home she had been brought up, Dr. Rooke, was an Englishman. Her tutor, Mrs. von Pfister, was a sister of Thomas Brown, a British subject, and it was natural that she favored the English.

The idea which has been presented, that the English Church would tend to preserve the Kingdom, is stated frankly in a letter which Kamehameha V addressed to "The Bishops of the Church in the United States," in August, 1865. He writes "commending his friend and Chaplain, the Bishop of Honolulu," and says of the Church, "that it has done great practical good to the people," and further, "It seems to me

more consistent with monarchy than any other form of Christianity I have met with."[1]

There seems to be no doubt that the preservation of the monarchy had much to do with the attitude of the kings and their Hawaiian and British advisers, in favoring the coming of the English Church. This is the belief of many who lived here at the time whose opinion I have obtained.

Bishop Staley was greatly annoyed at the persistent effort in the Islands and on the mainland to spread the idea that he was a political agent of England. He writes that this came from a few Americans in Honolulu and not from the bulk of the residents. Some mainland newspapers voiced a feeling of suspicion. One said "The Bishop under the genial tropical skies is a diplomatist. Under this velvety glove is the hard hand of Britain feeling for a naval station."

Dr. Rufus Anderson pointed out to Secretary Seward the political dangers which might be expected from the Bishop's presence. He would not be satisfied until Mr. Seward had exchanged notes with the American ambassador in London.

From evidence given me by persons here at the time there is no doubt that there were many petty annoyances from which Church people suffered for a season. In a degree this continued for years because the organization was universally called the English Church. There had always been more or less jealousy and suspicion between English and American residents and the coming of the English Church increased it.

It must be remembered, as we have seen, that the English Church did not come to Hawaii unsought. Kamehameha I heard Vancouver's promise and raised no objections. Kamehameha II wrote George IV on August 22, 1822, and said: "Our idolatrous system is abolished as we wish the Protestant religion of your Majesty's dominions to be preached here."[2] He went to England in 1823 to further his desire. Kamehameha III "commanded" R. C. Wyllie to ascertain the feeling

1 Staley, p. 73.
2 Staley, p. 6.

in regard to a Church clergyman coming to Honolulu. Kamehameha IV dictated letters on the subject which were sent to Bishop Kip and to England. The Bishop of Oxford stated in Convocation that the King had written an autograph letter to Queen Victoria "begging her Majesty to give all the assistance in her power in sending out a Bishop of the Church."

But it was not wholly because it was the Anglican Church that the missionary element felt aggrieved. The new Bishop stated in his inaugural sermon, "We come in all love and good will to all who have been laboring before us," but he went on to state the position of the Church in such a positive and uncompromising way that the old missionaries took offense.

Bishop Staley's words and actions towards the missionaries were perhaps like those to which he had been accustomed in England in his treatment of other Christians called dissenters. Then again he had been a school master and his manner was positive and unyielding. He was pleasant socially but officially he expected deference. The missionaries had hoped and expected some fraternal relations with the clergy of the new mission and were disappointed. An amusing story is told which illustrates the feeling which existed. A missionary calling upon Bishop Staley, and unaccustomed to meet dignitaries with the title of Bishop, asked if Mr. Staley was at home. The person who came to the door said: "Do you wish to see the Lord Bishop of Honolulu? Whose name shall I give his lordship?" Not in the least disconcerted the missionary replied: "Kindly tell the Lord Bishop of Honolulu that the Lord Bishop of Waialua desires to see him." It may not have been Waialua, but let it go at that.

If the Bishop had been tactful or silent when asked to take part in union services the feeling would not have been so intense, but he gave notice that his clergy "could not take part in meetings with those who did not regard episco-

pacy as a divine institution." The missionaries had become accustomed to the aloofness of the Roman Catholic clergy, recognizing that as a part of their system, but they had expected a different attitude in the Anglicans. "They are too much like the Roman Catholics," they said.

Mark Twain, writing for a California paper in 1866, describes the feeling existing in a letter, which, for bitter invective surpasses that of Robert Louis Stevenson in his famous letter about Dr. Hyde. Much of it is too vitriolic to quote but he sums up the whole matter as follows: "He (Bishop Staley) has shown the temerity of an incautious and inexperienced judgment, rushing in here fresh from the heart and home of a high civilization and throwing down the gauntlet of defiance before a band of stern, tenacious, unyielding, tireless, industrious, devoted old Puritan knights who had seen forty years of missionary service."[3]

Such was the state of affairs when the Rev. Dr. Anderson was sent to Hawaii in 1863 to ascertain the condition of the American Mission on which so much money had been spent and to which so many able and devoted men and women had been sent.

As to the "Reformed Catholic Church" to which Anderson devoted a chapter in his book published in 1864, he regrets that an unpretending clergyman of evangelical views had not been sent out instead of a Bishop of "that section of the Church of England characterized by extreme ritualism with all the paraphernalia of his office and functions."

Manley Hopkins, the Hawaiian consul in London, who had never been in Hawaii, wrote a book justifying the sending of the Anglican Mission and questioning Dr. Anderson's statement that Hawaii "was Christianized" or the assumption that the field belonged to the Protestant Mission. He maintained that the adherents of Rome in Hawaii equalled in number those of that Mission and that the Hawaiians

[3] Copied by the writer, in 1903, from a paper pasted in the Volcano House register.

were only superficially Christianized as shown by the immorality prevailing. If Manley Hopkins had considered the condition of masses of his own countrymen at that time in mines, seaports and congested centers, he might have been more fair in his judgment of Hawaiian conditions.

The impartial historian must say that, all things considered, it is remarkable what the missionaries had accomplished in the forty years before Bishop Staley came. They had reduced the language to a written form, translated the Bible and other books, led the way to universal education, originated industrial schools, which became later a world-wide feature of all missionary effort among primitive people. They were the friends of the people and had set the example of Christian family life. If we recognize these things we shall better understand the state of affairs in 1865 in reviewing moral conditions from the time of Captain Cook.

CHAPTER IX

MORAL CONDITIONS. 1778-1865.

Dr. Anderson, after his visitation of the missions in 1863, reported to the American Board that, comparing the native churches with the primitive churches, especially the church of Corinth, he was convinced that the standard was about the same. He stated that those who said the work was a failure were comparing the piety of the Hawaiians with Christians of their native land.[1] In this no doubt he was correct but his conclusions were premature. He maintained that the Islands were Christianized and that the superintendency of all the Hawaiian work should be given over to the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. This was done, the Board agreeing to provide for the missionaries still in the Islands. This action was followed by a decrease in the membership of the mission year by year until the policy of superintendents of defined districts was adopted some forty years later.

About the same time the Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association for 1863 speaks of the licentiousness and heathenism still widely prevalent.

Bishop Staley thought that these conditions "would receive no slight check by the introduction of a new Christian influence enjoying the thorough sympathy of the rulers of the people."[2] But he was doomed to disappointment for the Church under his supervision gained few adherents except among prominent Hawaiians. He appears to assume that matters would have been different if the Anglican Church had been earlier in the field. He does not seem to have had a just estimate of what had been accomplished by others. It was true that much remained to be done and in his policy of

1 Anderson, p. 279.
2 Staley, p. 12.

starting and advocating boarding schools with instruction given in English he contributed in no small measure to the betterment of the people.

This then is a good place to pause and consider the moral conditions during the periods about which I have written, both before and after the missionaries arrived. As portrayed by missionary writers the Hawaiians were grossly immoral, all was darkness, "a sea of pollution." When judged by their standards this was no doubt true, but while they were scholars they knew little of the great world outside, and not much of human nature beyond that of their own home environment.

It is well therefore to know what was written on the subject by others. W. F. Blackman of Yale in his "Making of Hawaii" shows that he has studied the subject thoroughly and comparatively. The late Dr. Alexander told me that he considered the book mentioned the best ever published on the social conditions of the Islands. Blackman writes: "As to chastity . . . previous to the arrival of Captain Cook, an examination of ancient traditions makes it clear that the habits of the people were far better in this regard than they afterwards became."[3]

King, as chronicler of Cook's last voyage writes: "The young women were kind and engaging notwithstanding our utmost endeavors to prevent it, had reason to repent our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve. In justice to the sex it must be observed that these were probably all of the lowest class of people, for I am strongly inclined to believe that excepting the few mentioned we did not see any women of rank during our stay among them."[4] He writes of the jealousy of the men as to the conduct of their wives and gives an example.

Portlock and Dixon do not comment on the morals of the

3 Blackman. 1899, p. 52 et seq.
4 Cook's Voyages, Ed. 1784, Vol. III, p. 131.

people, but on Christmas Day writes of treating their "friends and mistresses" to punch.[5]

There does not appear in those early days to have been such open exhibitions of licentiousness as appeared later.

Vancouver, on his last visit in 1794, writes that the assistance given by native men to the prostitution of women and the readiness of the females to surrender their persons "could not fail to incur our censure and, on reflection, our disgust and aversion. If this had been exhibited on my former visits (in 1778-9 with Cook and later in 1792 and 1793) its impressions could not have been effaced, but no remembrance of such behavior occurred. I was induced to consider this licentiousness as a new acquirement, taught, perhaps, by the different civilized voluptuaries who for some years past have been constant visitors."[6]

On several occasions he writes of the evil influences of white men, convicts from Botany Bay, and others then residing on the Islands.

It is well to remember, as Blackman points out, that the sentiment prevailed among the Hawaiians, as among many primitive people (and among those of a more advanced civilization) that a "generous hospitality necessitated the furnishing of a guest with a temporary wife."[7] This, he writes, "was demoralizing but not wholly dishonorable," and it is to be remembered that white men were looked upon as superior beings.

Lisiansky in 1804 shows that this was the custom when he was here. He says: "Jealousy was prevalent, though with regard to Europeans they allow great freedom, this proceeds from interest."[8] He says that on his arrival many women swam out to the ship but he would not allow them on board. Later he shows that this prohibition did not arise from any

5 Dixon, Ed. 1789, p. 110.
6 Vancouver, Ed. 1798, p. 171.
7 Blackman, p. 52.
8 Lisiansky, pp. 128 and 101.

moral principle but because he feared his men might contract disease.

As to venereal disease, La Perouse, who was here in 1786, writes that his surgeon, M. Rollin, visited several natives and found symptoms of syphillis which it would require twelve to fifteen years to develop. He says that Captain Cook on his first voyage landed only on Kauai, and yet nine months later he found people affected with that disease on Maui. La Perouse believed that the disease came from the Spaniards long ago.[9]

Campbell, who lived here in 1809-10, several months of which time he spent in the house of Isaac Davis, had excellent opportunity of observing conditions. He writes: "They are very jealous of any improper connection between natives and their wives, but the case is entirely different with respect to their visitors, where connection of that kind is reckoned the surest proof of friendship and they are most anxious to strengthen it by that tie."

Kotzebue in 1816 says: "that the Hawaiians were a sensual people," and "We have contributed to strengthen them in their vices—but why beholdest thou the mote in thy brother's eye but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye."[10]

Arago, who wrote the account of the voyage of the Uranie, Captain Freycinet, 1817-20, speaks of the "allurements of the women—men offered their wives to strangers and set them an example of noble generosity."[11] It may be said that to this day Hawaiians do not like to be called "pi" (stingy), and their generosity has led to many evils.

Some early navigators do not deal with sexual morals, perhaps they took looseness for granted. Corney, who saw much of the Islands from 1815 for several years, says: "The young women rove about without restraint until the age of 20 when they become more steady and have children."[12]

9 La Perouse, London, 1798, p. 88.
10 Kotzebue, London, 1821, Vol. IV, p. 254.
11 Arago, London, 1823, part 2, p. 60.
12 Corney, Reprint by Thrum, 1896, p. 106.

This reminds me of what the late Charles R. Bishop wrote me in 1903. "Never give up hope for a Hawaiian girl. She may be wild when young and then settle down and make a good wife and mother. That has been my experience during my long residence."

In 1880 Sir Harry H. Johnson writes of similar conditions in Tunis: "Like certain Berber or Arabized Berber tribes in North Africa there was great liberty of conduct, shameless prostitution among girls in their teens. Once espoused they were faithful wives and most devoted mothers."

When Dibble said that such a thing as marriage was unknown among Hawaiians he was in error. He probably means that they did not have a Christian idea of marriage.

Both Campbell and Arago and others mention that the marriage tie was loose and either one could leave the other on trivial cause. Is this worse than it is with us as shown in our divorce courts, in Los Angeles for example, where some years one divorce has been granted for every three marriages?

James Hunnewell, of a well known Massachusetts family, saw Hawaii first in 1817 and afterwards was here frequently, residing continuously in Honolulu from 1826 to 30. He was one of the founders of Brewer and Company. He stood well with the missionaries, and one of them, the Rev. C. T. Stewart, describes him as a young man who had become justly dear to the mission though he was not connected with it.

Bingham says of Hunnewell, "He has uniformly befriended the Mission and rejoiced in the prosperity of the missionaries."[13] His testimony therefore is valuable. In Hunnewell's memoirs, printed privately in 1880, it is stated that he had been on Maui and Hawaii and had met Kamehameha I and the royal family—that "His business experience, his observation and fair judgment gave him an insight and knowledge that more early voyagers, as well as somewhat

[13] Bingham, p. 111.

later residents did not obtain. He knew their extreme and intermediate condition—He met with evidence that the Hawaiians were not, in their primitive condition, the savages they have been represented to be by some. He did not feel that fairness allowed the darkness to be made more dark, even if the lighter be made more bright."[14] He wrote an article on this subject which was published.

Ellis, in his Journal does not dwell upon the dark side of Hawaiian life except when restrictions were broken down on the death of a chief. He was a broad-minded man, had travelled much and had for years known Polynesian life. He was, therefore, not surprised at what he saw and did not expect much.

But, Ellis, writing later, believed that moral conditions became worse as time went on. In his introduction to Stewart's book on the Sandwich Islands he writes that when H. M. S. Cornwallis was in the Islands not less than 400 women came on board, while, when the Blonde was in Hawaiian waters in 1825 not one came over the sides, such is the change since that time.[15] As to this, Lord Byron, commander of the Blonde, was an excellent man, and in my judgment it is probable that he would not allow women on board. His chaplain says of morals: "Vice and consequent evils, so often dwelt upon by others, need no mention."[16]

Chief Justice Lee in his first Annual Report in 1853 states that: "The monster evil of the land is licentiousness . . . and the nation is speedily wasting away under its consuming fires."

R. C. Wyllie wrote in strong terms about the prevailing vice and its consequences.

In 1853 "A Haole" (George W. Bates) went all over the Islands dressed in such a way that he would not be taken for a minister, in whose presence the people would be

14 Memoirs of James Hunnewell, Boston, 1880, p. XII.
15 Introduction to Stewart, p. XXIII.
16 Voyage of the Blonde, p. 137.

on their best behavior. He tells in inimitable way of his experiences at indecent exhibitions. He has much to say about vice but he defends Hawaiian women. He writes: "Among thousands in remote lands the Hawaiian capital has obtained an unenviable reputation. But it is not the shameless hell that it is represented to be. Universal condemnation is all wrong. If Honolulu were the only place in the world where such abuses of the moral law exist then the advocates of moral reform may thank God and go forward."[17] He quotes Judge Lee in support of his condemnation of the prisons for women guilty of sexual offenses and calls such, schools of vice. He believes with the Chief Justice that heavy penalties which public opinion does not sustain, defeat their own object.

Richard H. Dana spent two months in the Islands in 1860 and wrote a letter on the work of the missionaries which was first published in the New York Tribune. To my mind he took a most sensible view of the moral situation. He says: "There were conflicting influences for good and for evil in Hawaii. These Islands are places for the ships of all nations and for the temporary residence of mostly unmarried traders, and in the height of the whaling season the number of transient seamen in the port of Honolulu equals half the population of the town. The temptations arising from such a state of things, too much aided by the inherent weakness of the native character, are met by the ceaseless efforts of the best people native and foreign."

What Dana wrote of the efforts made to improve morals by natives and foreigners goes far back. Bingham, the missionary who came in 1820, while speaking of low white men says: "We are happy to say we have always had among foreigners in the Islands some friendly and honorable advocates of our cause."[18] In this connection he mentions Hunnewell and "the courtesy and kindness of Captain De Koven of

17 Notes by "A Haole," N. Y., 1855, p. 74.
18 Bingham, p. 111.

Connecticut, an Episcopal gentleman." (This was the grandfather of Reginald De Koven the composer).

Dibble tells of moral societies or "tabu meetings" which sprang up and flourished in the time of Kaahumanu, "not as the result of any special effort or design on the part of the missionaries." The members of these societies soon numbered thousands. To these societies no openly immoral person was admitted and if any fell they were suspended. When the attendance at the meetings became greater than that of Church services the missionaries took steps to abolish them.[19]

The missionaries had fought vice by teaching, by example and by influencing legislators who passed laws severely punishing evil doers. This severity was denounced by "A Haole" and other foreigners as unsuited to conditions and to the nature of the people. "A Haole" wrote: "They need love more than law."

Besides the missionaries there were many white men and natives, who, as Dana said, stood for all that was good. It would be invidious to mention names, but in looking over the list one finds a remarkable set of men who came to Hawaii in the forties and fifties. They left a deep impression in the Islands for professional and business integrity, for probity of character and for their generosity in furtherance of good works. There were influences for good as well as for evil. Many visitors also were men of high character. General S. C. Armstrong wrote: "No nobler men ever touched here than some of the officers of the American and English navies." He mentions seven, nearly all of whom were Churchmen.

Few, however, would agree with Dr. Rufus Anderson of the American Board who wrote of conditions in 1863. He is of course writing for home consumption when he gives a glowing account of the Mission on which nearly a million dollars had been spent. He saw what was shown to him and that was naturally the best.

19 Dibble, p. 222-3.

He endorses a report of the work published in the Missionary Herald, that when the missionaries arrived the people "were a nation of drunkards and every vice was practiced—now a change from brutal intoxication to Christian sobriety and the villages are not filled with licentious revellers."[20] He held to the view that the nation was Christianized and the mission should be brought to a close. His policy was put in force by the Board and the result was calamitous.

To sum up the whole matter, the presence of low white men of dissolute habits had a disastrous effect on native character. Vancouver mentions the evil wrought by "vagabond white men," as he calls them, and every writer who had the good of the Hawaiians at heart, tells of the unhappy results of this class living in the Islands. Captain Beechey writes of the "infinite mischief to the lower order of natives" done by runaway and dissolute seamen. Commodore Wilkes writes of the baleful influence "of the lower class of foreigners."[21]

These evil influences led to a drifting away, on the part of the Hawaiians, from older ideas, and when the restraints of the tabus had gone with the restrictions of old customs, and when the authority of the chiefs slackened, there was a lamentable amount of licentiousness and debauchery. In nearly every respect too much has been expected of the Hawaiians by those who do not give sufficient thought to the whole situation.

About 8000 Hawaiians had been excommunicated by the missionaries between 1823 and 1863 for various offenses.

But after all that has been said and written on the subject of immorality in Hawaii, were conditions worse than those existing in the period covered, in the ports and large cities of any nominal Christian country? Or for that matter were they worse than those which exist now in many places?

20 Narrative, p. 363.
21 Wilkes, III, p. 393.

We read of women in Hawaii going on board ships for immoral purposes. My grandfather, who was a young man during the Napoleonic wars, told me that when ships of war came into Plymouth, England, he had seen boat loads of women taken out to the vessels, because the men were not allowed to land for fear they would desert.

Dr. Sereno Bishop told me that he had seen droves of girls brought into Lahaina when the whalers came. What of the white slave traffic in Europe and America, before every agency possible, as well as strict laws, mitigated the evil to some extent?

We are told by writers, of grog shops and debauchery in old Honolulu. I knew old San Francisco forty years ago and wandered about in its worst parts, except where it was dangerous to go. Under the shadow of Nob Hill, a few blocks from old Grace Church, there were whole streets in which, from the windows of every house, painted women looked out and invited men to come in. On Kearney Street basements were occupied by dives, in which girls enticed men to drink and received a percentage on the liquors sold. There were some of the best men and women I ever knew in San Francisco at that time, and there were fine men and women in Honolulu in the old days.

Fielding and Smollet faithfully portrayed life in England in the eighteenth century and what could be worse than the wantonness of women and the lust of men as pictured by them?

What of conditions in London as shown by Walter Besant, General Booth, or the exposé by the Pall Mall Gazette in 1885? What of the surveys by committees on vice in New York, Boston, Chicago and other American cities as shown in their reports? Read these and then talk of the immorality of a people just emerging from a low civilization.

Hankey says: "Perhaps all men are immoral if they

get the chance."[22] In Hawaii men had the chance. It was considered by many women an honor to have relations with a white man.

I have seen the slums of London, Paris, New York and San Francisco and they were infinitely more shocking than anything I have read of in the past, or seen in my time in these Islands.

As to diseases due to vice, read the statistics of what was found in regard to venereal diseases by the medical examiners of volunteers and drafted men during the war. We have not much to brag about, we of an older civilization.

As to speech, which we should call lewd and vulgar, which led some of the missionaries to keep their children from mixing with Hawaiians or learning their language, hear what Sereno Bishop writes in his Reminiscences: "I remember that when I first attended a public school at thirteen, at Rochester, N. Y., I was confounded by the prevalent grossness of speech among the boys when by themselves."[23] Young Bishop had been sent to the States in order that he might not hear vulgar talk.

A New England school teacher told me that when she was eighteen years old and taught her first school she kept certain boys in for three days to erase with soap and water obscene words and phrases which they had written on the premises. Other teachers have told me worse things and many teachers who have come here have told me they have met far less indecency in talk among native children than in the States in which they have taught.

But if the Hawaiian conversation was gross, as doubtless it was, was it worse than the stories told in mixed companies as given by Chaucer or Boccacio, or worse than the gross language in European literature, say of the eighteenth century?

There is no doubt there was much looseness as to sex

22 Hankey. A Soldier in Arms, p. 60.
23 Reminiscences by Sereno E. Bishop, p. 20.

morality as we understand it, in old Hawaii. Two of their games, *umi* and *kilu,* were adulterous, but Alexander writes: "In justice to the Hawaiians it should be stated that there existed a respectable class among them who disapproved of the debauchery that attended these games and endeavored to keep their children from the places where they were played."[24] In old times the site on which Bishop's Bank stands was a place where these games were played.

But turn to a brighter side. There were and there are noble women among the Hawaiians and if there has been degradation it has been largely due to white men of low degree, and of high degree also, who have not been strong enough to resist the attractive wiles of the women.

On the other hand, to their honor let it be said, that a white woman was sacred to Hawaiian men. In my reading I have found only one instance where a Hawaiian man frightened a white woman by lascivious advances and that man was drunk.[25] I have heard of many instances where a white woman was left alone with hundreds of natives around her and these have guarded her until her husband returned. Jarves writes that "white women were held in chaste reverence."[26] Let us remember this.

Let us remember also the good rather than dwell upon the loathsome and vile. Let us remember noble Hawaiian women such as Queen Emma, Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and hosts of others who would be a credit to any race. Let us keep in mind also the many Hawaiian wives who have been deserted by white men and have struggled to rear their children well and to educate them. We are not fair when we judge any people by its lowest element or by those easily led. Judge as we would be judged and keep in mind the difference of ideas as to sex relations among different races, nations, civilizations and times.

24 Note to David Malo's Antiquities, p. 286.
25 Lucy Thurston, p. 49.
26 Jarves, p. 164.

There are no statistics of illegitimacy in Hawaii nor in the rest of the United States, but in Europe careful records have been kept. The following is the pre-war record of some large cities. The number of illegitimate births to every 1000 born is as follows:

Vienna	449
Munich	439
Stockholm	396
Paris	296
Rome	194
Berlin	154
London	64

If I gave the percentage of illegitimate births in different lands, ranging from 26 per cent in Lower Austria, and so on downward to Ireland with 2.6 per cent, it would appear that conditions are, to say the least, not worse here than in many lands long ago nominally Christianized and inhabited by well educated people.

In all I have written in the foregoing, I am not an apologist but I have related the facts as I have found them, and others have reported them.

In regard to the whole question of morals Christian people often forget that the sins which Jesus scathingly condemned were those of the mind and spirit, while he was not so unsparingly severe on sins of impulse and passion. After an experience of over forty years as priest and pastor I find that many members of Churches who are very strict in obedience to moral law, seem to think lightly of their own soul-destroying sins of the spirit: envy, hatred, malice and uncharitableness.

Froude, in his life of the great Erasmus, writes of the man's purity of life: "He did not make light of impurity, but he thought it less criminal than spite and malice and envy and vanity and ignorance. He regarded avarice and arrogance as blacker than keeping a concubine." This may seem

horrible to many, but Christians would do well to bear the words in mind, when, in self-righteous way they judge and condemn others for sins of the flesh, when they themselves are singularly lacking in the fruits of the spirit: love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, patience, faithfulness, meekness, self-control.

The Hawaiians had many good qualities, they were unmoral rather than immoral, but they had their standards and with education have greatly improved in their ideas of sex morality as we shall see later. As children of Nature, many words and deeds, considered indecent and vulgar by persons of advanced civilization, were to them natural with no need of concealment. When they learned that these were offensive to the missionaries and respectable haoles, they said and did them in secret, as they are very quick to see what others do not consider proper. Among themselves they would say and do things which they did not consider improper, but they concealed them from haoles because they knew their opinions and principles, and this is the case today.

In conversation with a well educated, well bred, part-Hawaiian young woman twenty years ago, she said: "I went to California under the impression, from what I had been told, that white girls were so much better than we were. After a year's residence I came to the conclusion that we were all about the same, no better and no worse, some were good, others were not."

CHAPTER X

THE THEOLOGY OF THE MISSIONARIES. THE SABBATH. THE BIBLE.

The things of which I have written were, however, external, whereas the root difference between Bishop Staley and the American missionaries was a theological one which led them to take a different view of life, not only in regard to amusements but with reference to religious experience and the Christian life in general. It had its roots in divergent ideas of God, salvation, the Church and the Bible.

The early missionaries were Calvinists and Calvinism is a set of theological opinions growing out of the philosophical views of its founder.

Lyman Abbott of Puritan ancestry and brought up under the strict doctrine of that teaching, briefly describes the system in his interesting reminiscences. "It treated the human race as a unit. In the person of Adam, failure involved all his posterity in ruin. Man no longer had free will, of himself he could not repent, if he would, he was shut up in sin and misery. From this fallen race God had selected some to be saved, for the rest there was no hope."[1]

Abbott says that this theology led him as a boy to believe that "he was a sinner under condemnation, that he must have a conviction of sin, feel very sorry for his sins and then feel very glad that he was forgiven and then begin to be a Christian." He states that for years he tried to have this feeling which revivals were intended to induce, but could not get it.[2]

This has been the religious experience of many who passed years of misery because they did not have this feeling, which was miscalled conversion.

[1] Reminiscences, Lyman Abbott, p. 128.
[2] Abbott, p. 20.

Abbott writes that the effect of Calvinism was a doctrine of despair which was paralyzing. He illustrates its logical outcome by citing the fact that when William Carey was pleading for missions to save the heathen in India, an old Calvinist called out: "Sit down, young man, sit down! If God wishes to save the heathen He can do it without your aid or mine."[3]

The thought which the old man put into words has always made me wonder why Calvinists undertook missions, and yet they did undertake them with the greatest devotion and sacrifice, their avowed object being "to save the perishing heathen."

Jarves says that the "gospel taught by the missionaries was one of fear." The daughter of one of the early missionaries told me that such was the fear of hell from the teaching which she received, that she put her finger on a hot lamp chimney to feel what hell would be like.

The son of a missionary told me that when he was a student at Punahou he went to a Thanksgiving service at which the preacher began his sermon with the words: "First we should be thankful that we are not in hell where we all deserve to be." He also said that when he was a young boy he would lie awake in terror at the thought of going to hell. But it should be remembered that there were untold thousands of children in all parts of the world who suffered as he did because of the hard and horrible doctrine taught by Christian teachers generally in that day.

Poor little Emma L. Smith, the daughter of the Rev. Lowell Smith, gives vent in verse to what was in her soul when she was some eight years old. Here is what she writes as published by her daughter:

> There is a dreadful hell
> And everlasting pains

[3] Abbott, p. 128.

There sinners must with devils dwell
In darkness, fire and flames.

Can such a wretch as I
Escape this cursed end
And may I hope whene'er I die
I shall to heaven ascend?

How thankful we should be that our children are not brought up on such fearful doctrine. And yet in the revulsion from it, there is a tendency to forget that God is just, as well as loving, and that He does as a Father correct His children and that evil doers are punished.

Sereno Bishop wrote that he was brought up strictly on Calvinism.[4] But Jarves who lived among the missionaries for five years says: "The missionary was a far more agreeable man than his catechism, and the trader not as bad a man as the missionary would make him out to be."[5]

From what I have learned, I am sure that conditions led them to modify their hard, theological thought, and as S. G. Armstrong wrote: "Their preaching became generally direct and practical, ethical rather than theological."[6]

Lyman Abbott well says: "In 1827 the missionary was regarded as a soldier going out to war against the enemy, in 1903, as a husbandman going out to sow the seed of a larger truth in a soil waiting to receive it."

In considering this subject it may be said that there was at that early time a party in this Church which did not differ greatly in doctrine from that held by the missionaries in Hawaii. If, as Richard Armstrong had suggested, an "Evangelical" clergyman had been sent out from England instead of Bishop Staley, the dogmatic teaching would not have differed widely from that already taught here.

But the Bishop and clergy who came to Hawaii held fast

4 Reminiscences, S. Bishop, p. 20.
5 Jarves, Confessions, 1857, p. 159.
6 Richard Armstrong, 1887, p. 76.

to the plain teaching of the Anglican Church, which, in brief is this, that by baptism one is made a member of the Church. All teaching, services and sacraments are designed to make him realize his position as a child of God and so to have him "lead a godly and Christian life."

The baptized child under this system is not taught that at some future time he may become a Christian by undergoing a certain defined spiritual experience but that he is a Christian and that he should walk and act and develop as such. To this idea most American protestants have at least partially come. Christian life is recognized as a growth not as a feeling, in fact this Church has always held that feeling is unreliable.

The child is taught also that he will be judged "by the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be evil," and that he must choose whom he will serve.

Bishop Staley hoped that the teaching, services and sacraments of the Church would appeal to the Hawaiians, especially as the King and Queen and many chiefs were in favor of it, but it did not do so to any large extent. He was too late in the field.

The Roman Catholic Church, with much the same teaching about Christian life, had, since 1837, worked persistently in its own way and in 1863 claimed that its adherents numbered as many souls as the Protestant mission. Its priests were positive in their teaching, they lived close to the people, and boldly said that many things forbidden by the missionaries were not in themselves sinful. They had in their services the appealing element of mystery, and in the confessional a place where repentance could bring absolution, and this last drew many sinful souls to them.

The Mormons had made many converts. Their missionaries coming two by two, lived with the Hawaiians and readily acquired their language and understood their minds. They told the people that Joseph Smith, their prophet, had

given them a later revelation than that which others possessed. One thing they did which was remarkable, they got the people to work, making labor a part of their Christian duty.

THE SABBATH.

Another difference which existed was the universal use by the missionaries of the word Sabbath for the Lord's Day, or Sunday. Their teaching in regard to the Sabbath was stricter than that of the Jews. It is not too much to say that the strict keeping of the Sabbath, according to the rules they laid down, was one of the surest tests of the piety of a convert. This is the constant burden of the writings of the American missionaries. Ellis writes frequently of it and on one occasion at Kailua he wrote: "The Sabbath was spent in a most gratifying manner. No athletic sports were seen on the beach, no noise of playful children, shouting as they gamboled in the surf, was heard throughout the day, no persons were seen carrying burdens nor any canoes passing the calm surface of the bay. It could not but be viewed as the dawn of a bright, sabbatic day for the dark shores of Hawaii."[7]

The Puritan idea of the Sabbath was readily grasped by the Hawaiians who were accustomed to kapu days, so they called Sunday la kapu.

This way of keeping the Lord's Day was not the teaching of Calvin or Luther. One used to enjoy a game of bowls on Sunday afternoon and the other had no rules against innocent amusements on that day. Yet such was the spread of the Puritan idea that it pervaded a portion of the English Church, so that when Charles Kingsley, then a country parson, played cricket on the village green with his people on Sunday afternoon he was denounced. Charles Kingsley held rightly that Sunday is the day of rest and worship and that sane recreation was not a profanation. This is the view held by Roman Catholics everywhere and by Protestants on the

[7] Ellis, p. 309.

continent of Europe. We regret however that in the revolt from Puritan Sabbatical strictness in America, the people have made the Lord's Day not a holy day, but wholly a holiday, no worship, only pleasure. A day of rest is one of the great benefits the religion of Jesus Christ has brought to men, and if its sacred character, as the weekly memorial of the Resurrection, is lost, work as well as play too often marks the day.

Sunday is not the Sabbath. That day was a part of Judaism. It is the Lord's day, kept from the dawn of Christianity as the time when Christians met for "the breaking of bread and the prayers."

THE HOLY BIBLE.

Another difference was connected with the Bible. In the day which we are considering the general belief of Protestants was that of plenary inspiration. Every word was directly and infallibly inspired by God. The Scriptures were inerrant.

The Anglican Church never set forth any theory of inspiration. It was enough to state in her formularies that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," and that it is not necessary to believe anything that cannot be proved thereby. Further, that the law of Moses is not binding upon Christians, but no man is free from the moral law.

With this general belief the clergy and laity of this Church accommodated opinions from time to time to truth as scientific knowledge revealed it. Astronomy, geology and evolution revealed God's method of working. Protestants also, as a rule, adopted these views but it upset their positive views of inspiration and weakened their belief in the Bible. The missionaries in Hawaii were scholarly men, many of them scientists of note, and they gradually applied scientific methods to the study of the Bible. It is now generally recognized that the Old Testament is a progressive revelation of

God as man was fitted to understand Him. He is first seen as the God of a family, then of a tribe, and later of a nation. The Psalmist and the Prophets see Him as God over all, righteous and just. To the missionaries the Old Testament was literally true, inerrantly inspired, and to the Hawaiians, Jehovah, as they were taught to call Him, was usually the God as the Hebrews perceived him, rather than the Father, all Life and all Love, as revealed in Jesus Christ.

The manager of a plantation, a devout man, one who had known the Hawaiians since he was a boy and spoke their language, once said to me: "It seems to me a pity that the Hawaiians were given the Old Testament. They sometimes excuse their sins by citing the lives of the patriarchs and others. One told me the other day he was like David, he was too fond of women."

When the Hawaiians were deprived of their white teachers, on the recommendation of Dr. Anderson, their religious meetings were often turned into debating societies upon trivial matters. The late Henry Dickenson, so long a teacher at Lahaina, wrote me in 1905 that a number of years before that time he went with Bishop Willis to Honokohau, then a thriving village. While they were there some of the natives came to the Bishop and told him that for three weeks they had debated two questions which they were unable to decide and had come to ask him to help them out of their difficulty. The questions were, first, "Who was the maker of Jehovah's chariots?" and secondly, "Were there steps down to the river Jordan?" Mr. Dickenson wrote that, in those days when the natives were left entirely to themselves, the Sunday Schools were really debating societies for grown people while the children sat and listened or played outside."

But there was another and radical difference as to the Bible. The ordinary Protestant belief is that men took the New Testament and constructed from it a belief and organized a Church based on that belief. This it can readily

be seen is incorrect. The Church was in existence with its ministry, its sacraments, its belief and its worship, years before any of the New Testament was written. The books were written for the Church already in existence and not for men to use for building a church upon its teaching. Bishop Staley held that the Church was a divine institution, coming down from the time of the Apostles, and the Bible was to be used to prove its belief, and not for men to found societies upon their opinion of texts. The latter idea which prevails among Protestants leads to the founding of innumerable sects on matters of opinion. The position of the Anglican Church tends to hold men of diverse opinions in one organization with individual freedom as to views of doctrine. The Churchman does not say, "the Bible and the Bible only," he says there are several sources from which I obtain my belief, viz., from God as He reveals Himself in Nature, in the Church, in the Bible and in spiritual consciousness, all brought to the bar of my God-given reason, as it gains light from science, scholarship, history and experience.

It was Bishop Staley's belief in the Church and its sacramental system, and the positive assertion of that belief, which brought upon him a bitter arraignment by Dr. Rufus Anderson in Chapter XX in his book on the Hawaiian Islands, that being his report of his visit to the Islands, made to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

CHAPTER XI

AMUSEMENTS AND RELIGION. THE HULA. REMAINS OF HEATHENISM.

The strong features of Puritanism were profound seriousness and a deep sense of personal relationship with God. The spirit of seriousness led them to consider participation in most amusements as having in itself something of the nature of sin. This idea was held, not only by Independents in England and Congregationalists in America, but also by Methodists and by the Evangelical party in the Church of England, but not to such a wide embracing extent by the Presbyterians of Scotland, though in America it largely prevailed among them.

This position was the result of reaction from the degeneration of many amusements into unseemly revelries. Christmas was abolished by the Puritans when in power, because it had largely become an orgy of dissipation. In the minds of the Puritans amusements detracted from the contemplation of God.

So wide reaching was this aspect of a serious spirit that the late Washington Gladden wrote that as a boy, when he played base ball, he always felt a sense of sin. As for dancing, playing cards and theater-going, they were unsparingly condemned as unbecoming to a Christian. The old Book of Discipline of the Methodists puts in words what the Puritan believed and put in practice, not only as to amusements but as to ornaments. An old professor of mine was the son of a Methodist minister and he told me that when his mother was young she had a bonnet trimmed with a cherry colored ribbon. The members of the society said they could not go to Communion with her unless she took it off. McElroy in his life of President Cleveland relates a similar incident

about Cleveland's mother, a Presbyterian minister's wife in New England.

The sentiment not only affected dress but was carried into the meeting house itself, which was to be bare, having no,

"Windows richly dight
Shedding their dim, religious light."

or other things "for beauty and for glory."

There has been an emergence from these ideas since the days which many of us older ones remember, but this was the attitude of American Christians generally in 1820, except among members of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Episcopal Churches, which were then in proportion of numbers much smaller than later on. The growth of this Church in the United States was in part due to the fact that it left the matter of amusements and personal adornment to the individual conscience and was content to warn against abuses.

In this day, except in certain localities, the various denominations have changed their attitude towards amusements and the world generally has gone to the other extreme and made pleasure a chief aim in life.

The missionaries came to Hawaii bringing with them the spirit of New England in regard to amusements. It was unfortunate that many of the games of the Hawaiians were discouraged or forbidden, as not seemly for a Christian. But they saw that gambling and other evils attended the games and the Puritan method is generally to forbid rather than to regulate.

Stewart, the missionary, in 1825, wrote of the natives that they not only attended religious instructions but they "studiously avoided every kind of amusement and pastime not consistent with strict sobriety and Christian decorum."[1]

Blackman says of the missionaries: "They had little sym-

[1] Stewart. Sandwich Islands, p. 270.

pathy with the aesthetic, the sentimental, the ceremonial and the sportive."[2]

Dr. Anderson referring to Kapiolani: "Hers was the religion of the Puritan and the pious reader will desire that all these Islanders from the highest to the lowest will be like her."[3]

Jarves, in his "Confessions" attacks the system as follows: "Their white instructors in taking away their games, dances and festivals and wars had given them nothing as an outlet for their natural energies. A polka or waltz was proscribed as the dances of the devil. Theatricals were something worse. Horse racing no better than hell's tournaments. Smoking was a capital sin. Native songs and festivals all smacked of eternal damnation. There was nothing left to the poor native for the indulgence of his physical forces. The most rigid principles of the most rigid Protestant sects were made the standard of salvation."[4]

Others expressed similar sentiments, though usually in less caustic language. C. F. Wood in his "Cruise of the South Seas," says of the missionaries in Polynesia that "in view of the vagabond English, American, and Portuguese, it is a marvel that they have done as much as they have." Then he goes on to say: "There comes with these Protestant missionaries for the natives a cropped head, no flowers for the hair, the heart is never gladdened by the sound of a song, and all dancing of every description is strictly forbidden; the young men are forbidden the sport of wrestling and all kinds of manly games. Such is the result of this peculiar phase of Christianity that has been bred in the foggy, gloom-compelling climate of the North. This form of Christianity passes over the country like a tidal wave and then recedes. It takes away from the converted natives their dancing, singing and manly sports, but nothing is given to supply their

2 Blackman, p. 78.
3 Anderson, p. 195.
4 Confessions of an Inquirer, Jarves, 1857, p. 158.

place. I believe that their amusements were natural and necessary habits to them. Many intelligent natives have told me that with this religion the people have become idle and shiftless."

Whether under a different system than that which he saw in the South Sea Islands, a better result would have been obtained is a matter of conjecture. It is true, however, that many good people in Hawaii and in other groups of Islands, believed that the criticism was just. The missionaries themselves came to know that their regulations led to hypocrisy and secret practice of forbidden things. The mistake made was that of the Puritan system and not of the men.

But the objection was not only to such amusements as have been mentioned. General Samuel C. Armstrong in his charming Reminiscences, 1887, page 72,, wrote of the children of the Mission: "We were all subjected to the severest Puritanic discipline. The Maternal Association took up the more hopeless cases of those who played checkers, or said 'By George.' The boys were thrown into convulsions when they heard an excited missionary father say 'By Jingo.'" But Armstrong was like the other boys and helped himself to the mission sugar barrel, when Messrs. Castle and Cooke were not looking. He further wrote: "We were brought up on New England boys, and I can remember the interest with which I watched the first importation of these marvels into Honolulu and our delight when we discovered that they were even worse than we were."

When the Anglican Church came to Hawaii one objection raised was its attitude towards amusements which the Protestant missionaries had forbidden. The day of such objections has now largely passed away, and the other extreme has been reached until, as Sir Philip Gibbs says of Europe, it seems to have gone mad on amusements and dancing. Dancing, even in schools founded by Puritans, is no longer forbidden but encouraged, and sometimes is seen done

in a way which shocks Puritan and Churchmen alike.

THE HULA.

The missionaries frowned upon the hula, about which there is a difference of opinion. Cook saw hulas on Hawaii and comments favorably, saying they were probably ceremonial dances.[5]

Vancouver was entertained by an exhibition of the hula on which occasion there were several acts. The first were interesting but the last one was accompanied by many lascivious gestures which were not agreeable to him.[6]

Menzies writes enthusiastically of a dancer whom he saw whose actions with "measured paces, fascinating movements and graceful attitudes, so punctually timed, were beyond the power of description."[7]

Kotzebue wrote that the hula was pleasing. "The whole bore the impression of pure nature and delighted me more than the European ballet."[8] At another time he wrote: "The hula filled me with admiration."

Arago in 1819 speaks of the "gaiety and agility" of the dancers and makes no disparaging remarks.[9] It would appear that some navigators did not see the hula, as they do not mention it. It was usually performed before those of high rank.

The chaplain of the Blonde saw the dance which he describes as "religious, heroic and amatory."

Stewart, the missionary who arrived in 1823, mentions the hula but raises no objections to it on the score of indecency.

Ellis, about the same time, tells of seeing the hula on six occasions. He describes it and on each occasion saw nothing objectionable. He writes: "Their movements were slow and though not always graceful, exhibited nothing offensive to

5 Cook, 1784, Vol. II, Book I, p. 142.
6 Vancouver.
7 Menzies, p. 168.
8 Kotzebue, pp. 337 and 254.
9 Arago, Part II, p. 59.

modest propriety."[10] The hulas which Ellis saw were no doubt historical, heroic and religious. The Hawaiians were quick to know what would offend and were aware he would not like amatory dances.

Bingham, the sturdy old Puritan, tells at length of the hula and remarks on the scantiness of the apparel of the dancers. He says: "Of course they could not flourish in modest communities."[11]

What would the dear man say of the dress or the actions of some of the dancers on the stage, or even in the ball room of today?

"A Haole" in a remote part of Molokai describes what was certainly a licentious hula. He was dressed so that he might be taken for a runaway sailor. He said of this: "Islanders conceal many things from the missionaries as they have a secret dread of their spiritual teachers." But, he adds that this was but human nature and it is the same in professedly Christian countries.[12]

David Malo says the hula was a popular amusement, which was used to confer distinction upon the alii. He mentions seven kinds of the hula.[13]

Dr. Emerson, in his notes to Malo's Antiquities says the hula degenerated and went to the bad when the white men came. The hula was "no better and no worse than other Polynesian institutions. The modern hula is no more a fair representation of the savage Hawaiian, than the Parisian cancan is of a refined civilized dance." Dr. Alexander does not wholly agree with Emerson but admits that there were different kinds of the hula and the worst as a rule has survived.

The lei was associated with the hula, in a way, as the dancers were bedecked with them. A curious instance of this is an incident during Bishop Staley's episcopate. It

10 Ellis, p. 59.
11 Bingham, p. 123-4.
12 A Haole, p. 285.
13 David Malo, translated by Dr. N. B. Emerson, p. 303.

appears that the Bishop attended a luau at Waikiki where a hula was danced. Mark Twain, who was here at the time, wrote an article for a California paper in which he scores the Bishop and describes him as having "his holy head decked out in the flower and evergreen trumpery of the hulahula girls."[14]

I wonder what Mark Twain would say if he saw a steamer depart today, or if he attended a luau! He was in error in some of his statements. He was here when Kamehameha IV died and writes: "The Bishop revived the half forgotten howling and hula dancing and other barbarisms in the palace yard and officiated there as a sort of master of ceremonies. For many a year before he came that wretchedest of all wretched instruments, the tom tom, had not been heard in the heart of Honolulu but he has reinstated it. . . . There were not ten men in the kingdom who had seen the like before in public." This is nonsense. On the death of Kamehameha III there had been the usual wailing and other customary native ceremonies, as people now living remember, and most of us who have lived here long have seen and heard such things and have not been shocked.

It was my custom years ago to take strangers to the Lunalilo Home. At that time an aged Hawaiian lived there who was one of the last who could play on the nose flute, give calls on the conch shell and play the ukeke. When he had displayed his skill on these instruments he used to chant the hulas of the Kings and Queens from Kamehameha I to Kalakaua. He did this while seated, accompanying his singing with the motions given by his hands and arms. An elderly haole hearing of these harmless and interesting doings complained to the trustees that I was reviving heathen customs as Bishop Staley had been accused of doing fifty years before. I was notified in polite way that it was not thought best to have these performances continued. Later I learned that the

[14] Article in possession of the writer.

real objectors were some old inmates of the Home who were jealous of the singer on account of the little money I gave him for tobacco.

I have seen many hulas, some of them most graceful, and some quite the contrary, but I never saw anything indecent. No doubt this was because I was not a tourist seeking that kind of thing and paying well to see it.

There is no doubt, however, that, as Dr. Alexander said, the worst forms of the hula have survived when the dance is performed in the presence of those who wish to see an immodest show, but any one who travels knows that if one wishes to see indecent or nude exhibitions he can find such in any city if he pays the price asked. One thing those who do not know the Hawaiians would find it hard to believe, and that is, that they are modest in regard to exposure of their persons, but it is nevertheless a fact, as kamaainas know.

Roland Bloxam in a letter to his uncle in 1825 says of bathing in the sea: "They have also, which may surprise one, a great regard for decency and never enter the water entirely naked." Even when the sexes did bathe together in a nude state, old Hawaiians have told me that they turned their backs each to the other until they were in the water.

Peoples differ in regard to clothing and modesty. Some consider it immodest for a woman to expose her face, others believe it quite consistent with modesty to leave the face, arms and neck bare, but immodest to expose the legs. The people who wore little clothes, if they thought of the matter at all, may have held the opinion of a well educated young woman of an old Boston family who said to me: "Why should I hide the body which God has given me. I am not ashamed of it."

Times have changed. The missionaries sought to clothe the Hawaiian women. Now a Hawaiian man fathers legislation forbidding the scanty bathing costumes of haole women.

NOTE. Liliuokalani and the Hula.

Since writing the above, Curtis P. Iaukea has handed me some clippings from the Bulletin and Advertiser with a note written and signed by Liliuokalani.

On December 7, 1886, the Advertiser commented on a hula given at the old Opera House. "We think a great mistake was committed by those who had the moulding of Hawaiian habits and morals in forbidding as sinful athletic sports and innocent amusements. . . . The native people love music and dancing. So do the foreign population. . . . The Puritanism which condemned all dancing as sinful, by this extreme encourages the assault upon good morals and decency of the hula. There is no relaxation of this rigid rule even now. . . . We state the point plainly because the hula has become a social ulcer which must be healed. . . . It must be stopped. . . . The hula may have protectors but it must go. . . . At the same time innocent amusements should be provided for the native people. They should be taught dancing and innocent amusements."

The Bulletin of December 9, 1886, had an article on the hula. It said: "Not one word can be said in its defence. Any one who defends the hula does so from ignorance or perversion. . . . The hula is bad, decidedly bad, unmistakably bad. There is no element to palliate its badness."

Liliuokalani wrote below these clippings as follows: "The writer of the above article must have had actual experience else the above comments would never have been made. It is done by actresses in Washington, D. C., Boston, New York and other great American cities, still they do not have a name for it. But in America and Europe, all over the world, the Hawaiian dance is tame to those in America. I have seen scenes on the stage more repulsive than any Hawaiian hula, and yet the vast audience of five thousand would clap their hands and cheer a French danseuse at a theater in New York who wore tights and short skirts and do the same thing on the stage." (Signed) Liliuokalani.

REMAINS OF HEATHENISM.

It is not surprising that the Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Society for 1863 mentions that relics of heathenism still prevailed. It would have been astonishing if the beliefs and superstitions of centuries had been obliterated by forty years of Christian teaching.

As to superstitions the difference between Hawaiians and white people is one of kind after all. Hawaiians believe that it is unlucky for one to walk with the hands at one's back, to sweep out the house after dark, to have a kamani tree near the house.

Among Americans it is unlucky to have thirteen at table, to put up an umbrella in the house, to return to a house after starting from it unless one sits down before going out again, to break a mirror means seven years of bad luck, etc., etc. All these things have no reference to cause and effect, they come from suggestions received in childhood which are difficult to eradicate, and many educated people are influenced by them. As to charms, human beings everywhere and in all ages have believed in them in one way or another.

Again, kahunaism is not dead. Many Hawaiians, besides having a doctor will, today, secretly seek a kahuna. But if one reads the columns of many mainland newspapers he will find notices of men and women claiming mystic powers of healing and divination.

I have seen in Hawaii a kuula or fish god which had at its base offerings of fish placed there by fishermen after a catch. This is a survival of sacrificial worship.

I have seen in England, on the first of May, men dancing covered with a frame of greens and flowers. It was a survival of the pagan festival in honor of Maia the mother of Mercury when the Sun enters Gemini and the plants of the earth are growing.

Hardy in "The Return of the Native," Harper's Edition, page 479, writes of May-day: "Indeed the impulses of all

such outlandish hamlets are pagan still . . . fragments of Teutonic rites to divinities whose names are forgotten, seem in some way to have survived."

As to kahunaism, John Wesley believed in witches, as did most men in his day. In every country of Europe the belief in witchcraft lingers, as does also belief in fairies.

It need not surprise us, therefore, if remains of paganism still exist in Hawaii, when it is only one hundred years since the idols were destroyed, while relics of paganism are to be found among peoples supposed to be Christianized centuries ago.

The truth is, as some wise man has said: "Christianity is not a failure, it has really never been tried." With all our boasted civilization it has never expelled wholly from the heart the fear of mysterious evil influences, yet, "perfect love casteth out fear." The trouble is that men generally love and trust most imperfectly.

CHAPTER XII

THE MISSIONARIES AND LAND.

It is a common thing even in this day to hear from people words to the effect that the missionaries were land grabbers. It is intimated that they obtained lands from the Hawaiians by methods which merit censure. Visitors frequently get a wrong impression on this matter from those ignorant of the facts and who, seemingly, do not care to learn the truth.

As an instance, one who was here in a yacht a few years ago wrote that "the missionaries had enriched themselves and their descendants by dispossessing the native of his land."

I frequently hear from tourists today, educated men and women, many of them in high position, such expressions as: "What a shame it is that the missionaries took all the land from the Hawaiians."

Let us have the facts. The sons of the old missionaries shrink somewhat from defending themselves, but, as I am not a "missionary" nor the son of one, and as I do not own a single share in any plantation, and as my income is not derived from Hawaiian sources, I can write with an unbiased mind with the sole desire to let the truth be known.

Some of the errors into which strangers fall, are due to the fact that they are unaware that the term "missionary" as generally used now by Hawaiians does not mean the men sent out by the American Board nor their descendants. The term as used by them includes all who were concerned in the overthrow of the monarchy and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, and those who were or are in sympathy with the ideals of the missionaries. This misunderstanding has led many, not correctly informed, to have erroneous views in regard to those who possess lands in Hawaii today or who are largely interested in plantations.

Originally the theory was that all the land belonged to the King. In 1809 when Kamehameha was King of all the Islands, except Kauai, he apportioned lands among his followers according to their rank, or for service rendered. This was done on the feudal system of proportionate military service. He ordered, however, that in the future the heirs of the chiefs should hold the estates with the consent of the King or Governor. There was no fee simple holding.

The common people did not own land but rented it from the chiefs, paying rent for it in produce or service. The people were not tied to the soil but could leave the land held by a chief and take up service with another.

As time passed dissatisfaction arose in regard to the tenure of land, and a movement began advocating that it be held in fee simple instead of possessing a life interest only. In 1848 Kamehameha III appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the division of the lands, of which Dr. Judd was chairman. After the committee had reported, the commission which appropriated the lands had no missionary among its members. John Ricord and W. L. Lee, lawyers, were prominent in this work.

The partition was effected by granting to the chiefs certain parts, the King to have the remainder. One-half of the King's land was to be his private estate, and to be known as crown lands and the other, government lands.

In 1850 most of the chiefs gave up a third of their lands in order to obtain an absolute title to the remainder.

The common people received fee simple titles for their house lots and the plots of land which they actually cultivated, and these were called kuleanas. In my judgment it would have been wise if the law had forbidden the owners to mortgage or sell their kuleanas.

Aliens were not permitted to own lands until 1850. In that year certain missionaries made application to the Hawaiian Government for permission to purchase lands and

the matter was referred to a committee of the Privy Council consisting of R. C. Wyllie and Keoni Ana. The report made by this committee was laid before the Hawaiian Legislature in June, 1851. It went into the subject at length and stated that: "The missionaries who have received and applied for lands have neither received nor applied for them without offering what they considered a fair compensation for them. So far as their applications have been granted, your majesty's government have dealt with them precisely as they have dealt with other applicants for land.

"It will not be contended that missionaries, because they are missionaries, have not the same right to buy land in the same quantities and at the same prices as those who are not missionaries.

"But, besides what is strictly due to them, in justice and in gratitude for large benefits conferred by them on your people, every consideration of sound policy, under the rapid decrease of the native population, is in favor of holding out inducements for them not to withdraw their children from these islands.

"As early as 1847, a resolution had been proposed in the Privy Council, recommending that a formal resolution should be passed, declaring the gratitude of the nation to the missionaries for the services they had performed, and making some provision for their children."

At that time the Rev. W. Richards, then a member of the Council, had objected, as he was opposed to the missionaries being accused of seeking worldly interests. As Mr. Richards was now dead (1851), the members of the committee, without ever having been approached by any one connected with the mission, and the signers of the report having never had any connection with the missionaries, declared that: "the services of these men in the cause of religion and education should be acknowledged in a substantial way, and openly and publicly declared.

"In view of the service of all Christian missionaries as eminent benefactors of the Hawaiian Nation the Committee recommended that as a bare acknowledgment of these services every individual missionary, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, who had served eight years in Hawaii, who did not already hold five hundred and sixty acres of land, be allowed to purchase that amount at a reduction of fifty cents an acre from the price which could be obtained from lay purchasers." The report was signed R. C. Wyllie and Keoni Ana.

The Polynesian of May 7, 1852, gives a list of men, missionary and others, who had bought land under the new law. Eleven laymen (including Charles R. Bishop and W. Goodale) had purchased a total of 4,311 acres or 391 acres per man, the price varying from 66 cents to $5.00 an acre, or an average of $1.45 per acre. Goodale paid a large price for a specially good piece, and if we deduct what he paid for 500 acres, the cost averages 99½ cents an acre.

Ten missionaries had bought 3655 acres, an average of 365 for each man, for which they paid an average of 56 cents an acre. The names include W. P. Alexander, D. Baldwin, E. Bond, F. W. Clark, E. Dole, J. S. Emerson, J. S. Green, P. J. Gulick, H. R. Hitchcock, E. Johnson.

When the sugar industry received its impetus, due to the reciprocity treaty with the United States in 1875, foreigners bought or leased large areas of land for the cultivation of cane.

Many of the sons of the missionaries had returned from the States. They were intelligent, educated, industrious and energetic men and they took advantage of the opportunities open to them. Some of them by degrees acquired control of large holdings and did so in the open market. But the idea that these men obtained the land in any way different from that acquired by other foreigners is false.

For years most of the men in starting plantations had a

hard struggle to keep afloat. It was only by persistent courage and hard work that they attained ultimate success.

But the idea so often presented that the men of missionary ancestry born in the Islands acquired all the available land is not true.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop inherited immense holdings which came to her from the descendants of the Kamehamehas through different lines. Her lands situated on several islands were placed in a trust which is administered for the education of those of Hawaiian blood and for the maintenance of the Bishop Museum.

Then there is the Queen Emma Estate, the income of which is largely used for the Queen's Hospital.

There is the Parker ranch, including the Kahuku ranch, the heir to which is a youth of Hawaiian blood. The total holdings are some 500,000 acres, equal to the area of the Island of Oahu.

There is the John Ii Estate, the heirs of which are Hawaiians, and the Campbell Estate, including a large part of the Ewa Plantation, the income of which goes to Hawaiians, as does that of the James Woods Estate.

Foreigners acquired, by lease, purchase or foreclosure of mortgages, much land as time went on. These holdings were largely used for pasturage. In 1863 the American Board of Missions, in withdrawing from the Islands, coöperated with the Government in securing fee simple titles to the property held by the Board which consisted of house lots and some land.

Such foreigners, not missionaries, as acquired control of large tracts of land held by their descendants today, were men like Henry Greenwell on Hawaii; Gay and Robinson, who bought the Island of Niihau and lands on Kauai; the McBrydes, and Makee and Spalding whose interests are on Kauai; the Ulapalakua ranch on Maui was originally the property of Captain Makee. Theo. H. Davies, and those

associated with him, by lease or purchase, had large holdings at Waikea, Papaaloa, and Paauilo, the land at the last named place having been originally the property of the Englishman, Thomas Notley, who married a Hawaiian. Dr. James Wight, R. R. Hind, Judge Hart and James Woods had large possessions in the Kohala district. Then there were the Spreckels interests and those of W. G. Irwin, John Scott, Alexander Young, Col. Norris, Paul Isenburg, Walter Murray Gibson, who bought the Island of Lanai, John Maguire and many others who had no blood relation with the missionaries. Their total holdings at one time and another comprise a very large part of the tillable and pasturable lands of the Islands.

The plantations controlled by the sons of missionaries are stock companies and the stock is widely distributed among men and women in the Islands and elsewhere. The stock being usually $20 a share encourages distribution. Some of these plantations pay large rentals to Hawaiians for leased lands.

Of the five large firms of Sugar Factors, three at first had no connection with the sons of the missionaries, though some of them in later years purchased interests in them. Brewer and Co., founded in 1826, was not missionary, Theo. H. Davies and Co. was controlled by Englishmen, Hackfeld and Co. was a German concern.

S. N. Castle and C. M. Cooke were in charge of the secular affairs of the mission. When a change was made in 1851, they went into the mercantile business as a private venture. Neither of them were ordained men.

Alexander and Baldwin was organized by sons of missionaries.

If some of the descendants of the missionaries have acquired riches they have deserved it. In their use of it and in their large benevolences they have shown a spirit which came, perhaps, in part from their life in Hawaii and their

association with Hawaiians, whose generosity was often a fault.

I have said the children of the missionaries acquired lands in the open market. To my personal knowledge Hawaiians would often go to them wanting to borrow money on their kuleanas. Often they would urge the natives not to mortgage their property. The answer would be: "If you won't lend it to me, I will go to Y. or Z." Knowing that if this was done the native would soon lose his home, the money would be loaned. Then years would pass with no interest paid and no hope of repayment of the loan. Foreclosure was inevitable and the man who lent the money is now called a land grabber.

I know, however, many instances where, by pressure of various kinds, lands and water rights have been obtained by plantations which had no missionary connection.

From 1820 until 1863, when Dr. Rufus Anderson visited Hawaii and advised the cessation of the work of the American Board in Hawaii, I find that 75 men had been sent out. All of these had been married except one, and wives worked as hard as their husbands.

Of these 75, no less than 28 were laymen, teachers, doctors and secular agents. Two at least of the ministers were also physicians. Of the whole number, 25 had returned to the states before 1863, many of them after a brief service.

Of those who were sent out, 13 died in the Islands, two ministers had taken independent charges, three ministers had been released for Government service (of whom two died before 1863), and six laymen had gone into business and one into Government service.

The figures are:

Men sent out	76
Left the Islands	25
Died	13

Released and living in 1863	10	
	48	48
Number remaining in 1863		28

The four men released for Government employment, at the earnest request of the King, rendered valuable service. Two laymen, one a printer and the other a bookbinder, went into business for themselves in 1850 and did well. Two others, who were secular agents of the mission, started a mercantile enterprise, and for their day became rich.

A teacher in 1854 became the manager of a plantation and ultimately acquired wealth. Another planted cane and was fairly prosperous.

One minister, without giving up his work as such, started a plantation hoping to provide work for the Hawaiians in his charge. In time he became rich and gave a large part of his income to educational and other work of the mission.

It must, however, be borne in mind that in those early days, the production of sugar was a venture and often unprofitable. It was only after the reciprocity treaty with the United States in 1875 that the sugar business was placed on a sound basis and many men of enterprise and industry became rich.

After the mission was thrown upon its own resources, a number of the missionaries left for the United States. Some had been given their house lots and some lands. Others, by thriftiness and foresight, had purchased land in the open market, sometimes from money which came to them by inheritance. From their meager salaries, at first, $400 a year with a small allowance for each child, they certainly could not have saved much. Due to their investments, some of them had an income which made them comfortable in their old age. I know of none, except those mentioned,

who could be called rich. Their total possessions in land was insignificant compared to the whole area of the Islands. It should be borne in mind that their purchases consisted almost entirely of pasture lands, almost worthless until after 1875 when companies were organized and large sums of money expended in clearing the land, putting in irrigation systems, erecting mills, etc. It was then that the land became valuable and returned high rentals.

This was the case with other owners of land all over the Islands. While many Hawaiians now receive large sums in rent for their lands, yet, not many took advantage of opportunities to buy land when it was cheap. I know instances where missionaries urged Hawaiians to purchase lands, but they could see no advantage in so doing.

As to the sons and daughters of the original missionaries who were alive in 1902, most of them were well known to me. They lived simply and those who had wealth had a remarkable sense of stewardship, regarding their possessions as a trust. Their continued munificence in gifts to institutions, and the multitude of their private benefactions are such that visitors are astounded when told of them. Their generous helpfulness has not been confined to their own religious associations, but has gone out to any object, which, in their judgment, was deserving. They have given personal aid as well as money for the founding and maintenance of all that is for the good and for the progress of Hawaii nei.

NOTE: The figures I have given have been obtained from the records as I have found them. It would be an interesting study to go further into the matter, giving names and dates and the acreage acquired by the original missionaries, ministers and laymen, but to do this is beyond the scope of this book.

CHAPTER XIII

BISHOP STALEY'S WORK.

It will be seen, from what has been written, that Bishop Staley had to face many difficulties, but he and his small staff of clergy worked hard, and at first, hopefully. He looked to the future and saw that as the field was fully occupied and the people nominally Christians, if he was to build up the Anglican Church he must open schools and get hold of the youth. As soon as possible after his arrival, Archdeacon Mason began a boarding school in Honolulu "for Hawaiians and other boys of the higher class," calling it St. Alban's College, and Mrs. Mason started one for girls. To Lahaina he sent the Rev. Mr. Scott, who left in 1863 when the Masons went there and took charge. The Archdeacon, like the other clergy in those early years, was both parish priest and school master. The Rev. E. I. Ibbotson took over St. Alban's College and a Mr. and Mrs. Hyde, the school for girls which Mrs. Mason had opened.

The story of the schools will be given under suitable headings, in the accounts of the administrations of the several Bishops.

The death of Kamehameha IV, had brought great discouragement, but his brother, Kamehameha V, said that he considered the Anglican Church "a sacred legacy bequeathed to me by my predecessor," and he became a generous supporter of the mission, giving $1,000 annually to the clergy fund and a like amount to the educational work under the Bishop. Although this money came from his private purse yet there were those who complained that the Church was a continued drain upon his income. When the King called a Council in 1864 to consider revising the Constitution, there was more complaint. He believed the Constitution of 1852

was too democratic for a people recently emancipated from feudalism, and the cry went up that the King wished changes to be made that he might tax his subjects $5 each for the support of the English Church. "The pulpits of the Congregational preachers rang with tirades against the Bishop and clergy. It was everywhere stated that the Prince and late King had died because of their presence in the Islands. The fates were against the Church and such plagues would continue to befall the land till the nuisance had been got rid of."[1] The King and Mr. Wyllie made a progress through the Islands, "contradicting these false and wicked fabrications."[1]

"It is interesting to note that the King had service on his yacht each Sunday during this progress, reading the prayers himself from the Hawaiian Prayer Book and encouraging his subjects to join the Anglican Church."[2]

Many of these hostile statements made in the Islands were believed in Boston and the American Board published a report which was circulated in the Islands directed against "The Episcopal Mission." This led the Bishop on January 1, 1865, to deliver a Pastoral Address in the presence of the King and Queen "vindicating the Church from the charges of intrusion, of having a political character and from other absurd allegations." This pastoral letter aroused much bitter criticism in the newspapers.

From the inception of the Mission, Bishop Staley and the friends of the work had in mind the erection of a stone Cathedral in Honolulu and plans were prepared. In 1865 Queen Emma went to England to further the object. This will be told fully in the chapter on the Cathedral.

In 1865, in response to an appeal from Bishop Staley, three Sisters, of the Society of the Holy Trinity, arrived in Honolulu and were sent to Lahaina, where they founded the St. Cross Industrial School for girls.

1 Bishop Staley's "Five Years," p. 52.
2 Ibid, p. 53.

In the same year, 1865, Bishop Staley left Hawaii on behalf of the Mission. The General Convention of the American Church was to meet in Philadelphia that year and he wanted to ascertain if the arrangement proposed by Bishops Kip and Potter in London in 1860, of having a joint Mission of the American and English Churches, could now be carried out and men and money sent to help the work in Hawaii. The Bishop bore a letter from the King addressed "to the Bishops of the Church of the United States now assembled in General Convention." In this letter he speaks of Bishop Staley as his "friend and chaplain" and states his great sympathy with the object of the Bishop's visit. He writes: "From his mission to these Islands great practical good has arisen." He believed the Church, "and the principles of education which it inculcates, seem to me from practical evidence before my eyes, to have the effect of making its members more moral, religious and loyal citizens. The system of family training which it adopts in female schools is admirably fitted to cure a great social evil of this land. . . . Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to find the Church, invited here by my lamented brother, widely spreading and taking root in my kingdom."

After Bishop Staley had presented the King's letter he addressed the House of Bishops, telling of his needs. In reply Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania assured the Bishop of Honolulu of their desire to aid him in his work and offered a resolution assuring the King of their interest. The Board of Missions at once pledged one half of the salary of two American clergymen to work in Hawaii. Two men were sent later to Hawaii under this agreement, the Rev. Peyton Gallagher, who remained but a short time, the other, the Rev. George B. Whipple, who arrived early in 1866, of whom we shall hear more in the chapter on Wailuku and Ulapalakua.

This General Convention was notable as being the first Convention of any kind attended by Southern men after the

close of the Civil War. The Southern Bishops who attended were received with tears of joy and all joined in singing the Gloria in Excelsis.

At the close of the Convention Bishop Staley visited various cities and in Washington had his photograph taken at a famous gallery. The plate was lost in a fire but one picture was saved. When I was in Washington in 1903, this was offered to me by a collector for $10. I purchased it and had it framed and it now hangs in the office used by the Vicar of St. Andrew's Cathedral. It is of large size, and being an excellent likeness, reductions of it were made at the request of his relatives and sent to them.

When I was in New York in 1903, the Right Rev. Henry C. Potter told me the following story connected with Bishop Staley: "When the Bishop of Honolulu was in the United States in 1865 I asked him to visit me at Cooperstown, N. Y., where I was then Rector. The Bishop was invited with me to dine with a retired Admiral, who was one of my parishioners. At dinner our host said that he had in his cellar some fine old Madeira which he only used on rare occasions. He ordered his butler to bring a bottle and open it. The Bishop, being served first, drank some of it and the old Admiral, who had been busy talking, asked him what he thought of it. The reply was that he had never tasted anything like it before. The Admiral then took up his own glass and when he looked at it the old salt swore lustily, as many sailors did in those days, for instead of Madeira, the butler, a new man, had by mistake served the company with tomato catsup which had been put up in old wine bottles. Bishop Staley was too much of a gentleman to say that he did not like the concoction, which he thought, so he stated, was some new kind of American wine."

Up to 1866 the Honolulu congregation had continued to worship in the Lyceum building, but that year a pro-Cathedral was erected on the church land makai of the present loca-

tion of the Bishop's House. This served as a place of worship for twenty years. The cut stone for a part of the permanent building had arrived from England the year before and lay on the site in crates for many years.

On March 5, 1867, the corner stone was laid by the King and work was commenced on the foundations of the choir, but when these were in place no more was done.

Three weeks after the corner stone was laid, Miss Sellon arrived in Honolulu accompanied by three Sisters and the buildings for St. Andrew's Priory were at once commenced and were ready for occupancy and dedicated on Ascension Day, May 30, 1867.

In this year the Rev. Charles Williamson arrived and was sent to Kealakekua, Hawaii, where he built Christ Church, as is related elsewhere.

What occurred in the next few years is best told by quoting from a paper written by Sisters Beatrice and Albertina in 1912. "The Reverend Mother (Miss Sellon) left Honolulu to return to England on June 4, 1867. A few weeks after this Bishop Staley sailed for England, and about six months later, Mrs. Staley and all the children followed him. Soon the Rev. Mr. Elkington, who had been here a year, found it necessary to return on account of ill health and Dean Harris arrived to take his place. The Bishop sent out Alatau T. Atkinson and Alexander Mackintosh, both candidates for Holy Orders. The Bishop remained away about two years, returning by way of South America, as he had been appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit the Anglican Churches at certain places to administer confirmations. He returned to a stormy See, so stormy that it obliged him to resign in May, 1870."

Many things had discouraged Bishop Staley. There was great difficulty in getting funds and keeping clergymen. Then there was a serious disagreement with the clergy and laity. His hopes of rapid progress were not realized and he

found that with his large family the cost of living exceeded the combined income from the Church and his private means. His style of Churchmanship did not suit the majority of the English Church residents and other Christians considered it "popish."

It is not to be wondered at that he resigned. The following extract from the Advertiser of January 1, 1870, will illustrate the feelings of the element opposed to the Anglican Church in Hawaii. "Since the return of Bishop Staley several months ago, several exciting meetings took place. Bishop Staley will return to England and resign. All the members of the staff will retire. Thus after seven years of trial the experiment of building up an expensive ecclesiastical establishment unsuited to the wants of the place and repugnant to the tastes of the people, has proved a failure and will be abandoned.

"The establishment here of the Reformed Catholic Church was one of the visionary schemes of the late R. C. Wyllie and never met with the cordial support of English or American Episcopalians for the main object appeared transparent from the first to be political rather than religious.

"The Rev. Mr. Williamson is expected back and all who seek the prosperity of Christ's Church will rejoice that there is now the prospect that the Episcopal service may be established in a way to secure the sympathy and support not only of all Episcopalians but of members of other denominations."

Religious newspapers elsewhere had articles in the same strain. They seemed to be glad at what they thought would be the abandonment of the Mission. But it did not die as many thought it would.

Bishop Staley went to England where he accepted a parish, doing faithful work. He died at the age of 75, November 1, 1898, and was buried in St. Clement's Churchyard, Boscombe, Bournemouth.

REVIEW OF BISHOP STALEY'S WORK.

In reviewing the work of the first Bishop of Honolulu one can readily see that he was a man of vision. He laid the foundation of much that is best in the work of the Church in Hawaii today. But the influence of the Anglican Church was felt not only in the schools which he established, but what he did for education was important. The King appointed him a member of the Board of Education and it was largely due to him that the Government recognized the value of boarding schools for girls. Under the rules which he drew up, Government aid was given to denominational boarding schools and those for girls received a special impetus which led to a five-fold increase of pupils in such schools in five years. A Reformatory School for juvenile offenders was established by act of the legislature, the master of which was Mr. Hyde, who had come from England to work in the Mission and had been in charge of the girls' school in Honolulu after Mrs. Mason went to Lahaina.

Dana had written of what seemed to him a lack of reverence in the worship in native churches and the greater reverence shown in the Anglican Churches. On September 15, 1866, the "Kuokoa" said: "It is a thing for us to be ashamed of compared with the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics, the sitting careless and not bowing the head nor standing when the minister prays."

In addition to this the Bishop had made much of the great festivals of the Christian Year and this drew special attention to Christmas and Easter. The Honolulu "Gazette" of January 1, 1868, has this: "For the last five years . . . official recognition has been made of the great Christian anniversary (of Christmas). It is now adopted as a national holiday, and becomes a national recognition of the claims of Christianity on the Government."

We in this age can scarcely imagine the attitude of Puritanism towards Christmas, even beyond the middle of the

last century. In 1895 a fine old Boston Churchman told me that when he was young, boys used to jeer and pelt him with snow because he went with his father to St. Paul's Church on Christmas Day. In the "Life and Letters of Emily Dickenson," (1924, page 13) it is related that her brother in 1854 married a girl brought up in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of New York. On her first Christmas at Amherst, Massachusetts, she decorated the windows of her house with laurel wreaths, and this act "almost upset the family apple cart and Emily's brother was accused by the scandalized Puritan neighbors of having married a Catholic."

On April 11, 1868, the following notice appeared: "Friday, April 10, is the commemoration of the sufferings and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and it is generally observed by Christian nations. All public offices will be closed throughout the kingdom."

On April 11, the Congregational paper at Honolulu said: "The past week has been Holy Week on the calendar of the ritualistic churches. On Good Friday the public offices were closed, an observance which, though strange to a large portion of our people, is perhaps less uncalled for, because many of our foreign residents at home used to notice the day. Easter Sunday, even in Protestant churches, is sometimes made the occasion of appropriate exercises."

As one reads this and remembers how Good Friday and Easter Day are observed in Honolulu now, he certainly realizes that a great change has taken place since Bishop Staley's arrival in 1862, a change in which the Anglican Church had no small part.

CHAPTER XIV

SCHOOLS IN HAWAII. AMERICAN—ROMAN CATHOLIC—ANGLICAN.

In order to have an intelligent understanding of educational conditions in Hawaii when Bishop Staley arrived, it will be necessary to review briefly what had been done since 1820.

Printing was introduced into the Islands in January, 1822, and instruction was at once given to many of the chiefs and other adults. Soon schools were opened at central places which were attended by old and young.

When Bingham was settled in Honolulu a number of white men wished their native wives and children taught, as already stated.[1]

At great length Dibble defends the establishment by the mission of schools for the education of the people. In 1831 the Lahainaluna school was opened, its first object being to train men as teachers. In 1836 it became an industrial school for boys. The institution was handed over to the Hawaiian government in 1849.

A boarding school for girls was started at Wailuku in 1837. For several years there was much sickness and many deaths. In 1839 out of fifty pupils five girls died and twelve left on account of illness, some of which died later. That year Dr. Judd visited the school and found that the girls did not have enough out door exercise. His advice was followed and sickness disappeared.

Dibble writes of this: "It seems impossible to restrain them, (i. e. the girls) from rude and romping behavior, and to confine them to those exercises deemed most proper for females. To require at once habits of civilization . . .was

1 Bingham, p. 106.

evidently attended with great risk. . . . They seemed to require frequent tours to the mountains and seashore."[2]

Poor girls! How thankful we are that the ideas of civilization, as applied to girls, which then prevailed, have been discarded. Blackman in commenting on the words of Dibble writes: "It is pathetic to read the complaint concerning them made by their grave New England teacher."[3] This school was discontinued in 1849 and Mrs. Gower's family school, in a measure, took its place for a short time. This lady was not a missionary but was connected with a Connecticut family then farming at Makawao.

Several small schools for girls were conducted from time to time at various places by the wives of missionaries, at Hilo by Mrs. Coan, at Kohala, in 1842, by Mrs. Bond, and later, on Maui by Mrs. Sereno Bishop.

At Hilo, in 1837, the Rev. D. B. Lyman established the industrial school for boys, which has continued its excellent work up to this time.

There were also small agricultural schools, one in 1840 at Waialua, which was self-supporting, and "A Haole," in 1853, founded one at Hanalei, Kauai.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong, born on Maui in 1839, saw these industrial schools as he travelled with his father, who was the Minister of Instruction, and he acknowledged that they gave him the idea which led him to found Hampton Institute in 1868, from which other similar institutions have sprung.

All the schools of the mission suffered greatly, and some were abandoned, due to an order issued by the American Board in 1837 which called for retrenchment. This was most disheartening, though most of the disbanded schools were revived later.

In 1840 a school for young chiefs was opened in Honolulu under Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke with John Ii as assistant

2 Dibble, p. 284.
3 Blackman, p. 79.

guardian. The instruction was in English and the work done was remarkable. Many of the pupils rose to distinction and power. Among them, no less than five came to the throne. Kamehameha IV and his brother Kamehameha V, Lunalilo, Kalakaua and Liliuokalani. One, Emma Rooke, became the wife of Kamehameha IV, and another, Bernice Pauahi, (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop) declined the throne.[4]

Apart from the mission, a school was started in 1831 by Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, especially for part-Hawaiian children. Foreigners, including shipmasters, became interested, contributing generously. A house was built two years later for English speaking children and it was called the "Charity School."

A number of boys were sent to this Honolulu school from California and the North West Coast.

Under the mission, schools for children were opened in 1832, wherever possible, and these continued until 1841 when laws were passed providing for the erection of buildings and the support of teachers by the Government.

In 1842 Punahou school, now Oahu College, was founded. It was designed especially for the children of missionaries, so that they would not have to be sent to the United States to be educated.

In 1842 Father Bond, at Kohala, opened a school for picked boys limited to twenty pupils. He also had a school for training teachers. Mother Bond started a day school for girls limited to twelve pupils. The Kohala Seminary commenced on December 3, 1874, and has continued to the present time.

In March, 1865, Dr. and Mrs. Gulick began a family school for girls. This developed into the Kawaiahao Seminary, when, in 1867, Miss Lydia Bingham became principal.

The Roman Catholics, in 1843, had two day schools, one for boys and another for girls, under the supervision of

[4] Memoirs of Mrs. Bishop, 1908, p. 209.

Father (later Bishop) Louis Maigret. The boys' school was removed in 1849, to Ahuimanu, Koolau, Oahu. In 1882 it was transferred to the premises now occupied by Iolani School, and in 1884, transferred again to the present location under the name of St. Louis College.

There were also some parochial schools at various stations. In July, 1859, the Sisters of the Sacred Hearts opened their day and boarding school for girls on Fort Street, which has done excellent work for the women of Hawaii.

ANGLICAN CHURCH SCHOOLS.

When the Anglican Mission began its work in 1862, owing to the efforts of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, the plan of training Hawaiian girls in boarding schools, was a matter to which the royal pair gave their minds and hearts. Bishop Staley believed that Church boarding schools for girls, in which they would be trained physically, mentally and spiritually, would be a powerful factor in the uplift of the entire social fabric. From the time of his arrival the sisters and wives of the clergy had devoted themselves to the education of girls. The King erected buildings at a cost of about $4,000.00 at his own expense and here Mrs. Mason opened a school. The site of the building was at Kaalaa at the entrance to Pauoa Valley.

In 1863 the Masons moved to Lahaina and carried on their work there and Mr. and Mrs. Hyde took charge of the girls' school in Honolulu.

In 1865 Kamehameha V appointed Bishop Staley a member of the Board of Education, and to advance the interests of boarding schools for girls, he proposed a system of capitation grants, which was adopted. One rule was this: "Convinced that religion is the basis of all sound moral training, the Board expects that such schools shall be conducted on Christian principles, but it leaves to their directors full discretion as to the form of Christianity they may feel it right to inculcate." The result of this system was that there

was before long a five-fold increase in the attendance at girls' boarding schools.

With the so-called Oxford movement in the Anglican Church, sisterhoods had been revived. Among those interested in this revival was Miss Priscilla Lydia Sellon, a lady of private means, who, at 26 years of age consulted the Bishop of Exeter in regard to work among the poor at Plymouth, England. She visited Dr. Pusey seeking advice, and the result was that in 1848 she founded the Society of the Holy Trinity at Devonport. The members of the order were commonly called the "Devonport Sisters." It was the first community of Sisters in the Anglican Church since the Reformation.

In 1849 there was an epidemic of cholera at Plymouth and the work of the Sisters among the sick attracted wide attention. During the Crimean war, when at the hospital at Scutari Florence Nightingale revolutionized army nursing, three Sisters from Devonport rendered her great aid.

The Reverend Mother Lydia, the Superior of the Order, continued to be called by people generally, Miss Sellon, as there was. on the part of some, a strong prejudice against Sisterhoods. She became greatly interested in the Hawaiian Mission, and in 1865 sent three of the Society, Sisters Katherine, Bertha and Mary Clara, the last two having been with Florence Nightingale at Scutari. They expected to take over the girls' school which was then conducted on Nuuanu, but Archdeacon Mason wanted them and they were sent to Lahaina and there took over Mrs. Mason's work among girls and called the institution Saint Cross School. They were usually called the English Sisters to distinguish them from the Roman Catholic Sisters, already known in the Islands.

Miss Isabella L. Bird visited Hawaii in 1872, and almost the only good word she had for the Anglican Church in her book on the Sandwich Islands was written about the Sisters'

School at Lahaina, which she visited before Bishop Willis reached Hawaii. For this work she had unstinted praise. It would take too much space to give in full all that she wrote, but an abridgment will give her impressions in her own words.

She calls the institution: the industrial and boarding school conducted by two English ladies, Sister Mary Clara and Sister Phoebe, who had sacrificed friends, sympathy and social intercourse for this work. The coral house was large and contained a visitor's room eight by twelve, which was furnished with a pine table and three chairs. (This coral house had been used as a marine hospital in the whaling days and Miss Sellon had purchased it.)

"In the school room the senior Sister was teaching, while, in one of the three houses in the rear, the junior was busy in the kitchen. These ladies in eight years have never left Lahaina, their zeal gave them no time or desire for a holiday. A solid English education is given and a thorough training in all housewifely arts and in dress, deportment and propriety of language. There are 37 boarders between the ages of four and eighteen. They provide their own beds, bedding and clothes and pay $40 a year. The grant to the school from the Government is $1,160 per annum.

"I owe to Sister Phoebe one of the pleasantest days I have spent on the Islands. The eldest sister is in middle life and of a lovely countenance, the younger is one of the sweetest looking women I ever saw, with fun dancing in her eyes, on both faces was serenity.

"I never saw such a mirthful looking set of girls. Some were cooking, some ironing, some reading aloud, but each occupation seemed a pastime. When they spoke to the Sisters they clung to them as if they were their mothers. I heard them read, play the piano and sing and their legible handwriting I envied. All was significant of intelligence and good teaching. I can not convey the blitheness and inde-

pendence of manner of these children. Their manner was of the family rather than of the school. The rigidity customary in England would be out of place and fatal here. Strict obedience is of course required but the rules are few. The Hawaiian *will* dance, or else indulge in less innocent pastimes, so the Sisters have taught them English dances and I never saw anything more graceful than their dancing. There was an undulation about their movements I never saw among Europeans. All looked bubbling over with fun and frolic and there was refinement and intelligence.

"There are two dormitories excellently ventilated, and one Sister sleeps in each and these refined women have no place of retirement except a very plain oratory. Their whole lives were spent with the girls or visiting the afflicted, and this through eight blazing years.

"If there is to be any future for this race it must come through a higher morality. The removal of the girls from evil and impure surroundings and placing them under the happiest influences of purity and goodness is a noble work, but it admits neither pause nor relaxation.

"They have undergone the trial which arose naturally out of the ecclesiastical relations of the American missionaries, of being regarded as enemies, or, at least, dangerous interlopers. Their views on matters of dress and recreation are at variance. The habit they wear, their being called Sisters, and their connection with a section of the English Church, which is regarded here with particular disfavor, roused a strongly antagonistic feeling towards their work and religious teaching." (It is well to state that Miss Bird was a Presbyterian, and therefore not biased in favor of the Sisters. In a note she said that later the Sisters lived down this distrust.)[5]

In 1865 Queen Emma went to England and by her presence and words greatly increased the interest of Church

[5] Sandwich Islands, Isabella L. Bird, Ed. 1905, pp. 166-9.

people in the training of Hawaiian girls. Her conversations with Miss Sellon led that noble woman to make arrangements for sending out three more Sisters. The result was that early in 1867 she herself came to Hawaii bringing with her Sisters Phoebe, Beatrice and Albertina. The entire party went first to Lahaina where they saw how the school was conducted. Miss Sellon was so favorably impressed with the work that it was determined to open a similar school in Honolulu, taking over a few girls who had been taught by Miss Mason and Miss Ibbotson.

The building which the King had erected for a girls' school had been given over to the boys of St. Alban's and the Sisters' school was opened in a house on the Cathedral lot. This being found entirely inadequate Miss Sellon obtained permission to erect buildings on a portion of the land given by Kamehameha IV for the Cathedral, where the Bishop's House now stands. The Reverend Mother built a home for the school on which she expended about $7,000 of her own money. The building in which the school was opened was the same in which Miss Mason and Miss Ibbotson had taught and when the Priory was built it was used for a refectory and continued as such until the concrete building was erected in 1910. She purchased also a piece of land for a playground in the rear of the present school building which was long called "the field." She named the school St. Andrew's Priory and the new buildings were opened on Ascension Day, 1867, and at that time they were considered very fine. They were attractive for many years with their vine-covered cloisters and the pretty entrance porch. In the court yard a large coral cross was set up, around which a service of dedication was held and before which a memorial service on Ascension Day has been conducted annually ever since, though the cross was removed in 1911 to the new Priory court.

Sister Katherine returned to England shortly after with

Miss Sellon, who took with her two girls of high rank to be educated in England. Sisters Bertha, Beatrice and Albertina were left in charge of the school. Many of the pupils were of chiefly families, and by tradition these girls felt that it was beneath the dignity of their birth to do their share of the household work. In order to correct these ideas the Sisters have told me that they themselves would sweep or go down on their knees and scrub to show that such work was honorable.

All the instruction was given in English, though schools up to this time, except those mentioned, had been taught in Hawaiian. Sereno Bishop told me that when Dr. Anderson of the American Board came to Maui in 1863 his wife had a small school for girls in which instruction was given in English. When some of these girls were taken to Dr. Anderson to show their accomplishments, the Doctor would not hear them because he believed that the teaching should be in Hawaiian.

St. Andrew's Priory declined to receive any aid under the capitation grant system, because those in charge wished to be entirely independent of the Government.

The charges at the Priory for boarders was $100 a year and this remained the rate for forty years. When this charge was established beef was five cents a pound and other things in proportion, but the higher cost of living necessitated an increase.

The pupils were largely from families of prominence and many of them became well known, marrying men who attained important positions in the Islands and elsewhere.

CHURCH SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.

Archdeacon Mason, soon after his arrival in 1862, opened a school for boys, known as St. Alban's College, in the lower portion of Pauoa Valley. When he and Mrs. Mason went to Lahaina in 1863 the building which had been erected by the King for a girls' school was taken over for the boys of

St. Alban's. The Rev. E. Ibbotson had charge of the college and when he left in 1866, Mr. Turner continued it. In 1869 Alatau T. Atkinson arrived from England and became a teacher at St. Alban's, of which later he was principal. Pierre Jones also taught at this school.

In 1867 Bishop Staley reported that Archdeacon Mason at Lahaina had over eighty boys in his school of whom twenty-five were boarders. The support of this work largely depended upon aid given by the Board of Education, the Government being desirous of having picked boys taught in English, in which the instruction was given. After many years of native schools taught in Hawaiian, the men in charge of public affairs, from the highest to the lowest offices, were almost entirely Americans and Europeans. The Bishop believed that the Hawaiian language was inadequate in its vocabulary and literature to fit men for positions of importance. It is certainly true that boys who attended Church schools in those early days, came to occupy prominent places in Hawaii in later years.

The English of the pupils in our Church schools has always been most highly commended by those in authority in public education. I am sure that this is largely due to the fact that day by day they hear the Bible read and use the book of Common Prayer in worship with their unmatched English. Reading and singing in concert with educated leaders greatly aid in acquiring correct speech.

After Bishop Staley resigned in 1870 the three schools, St. Alban's, St. Andrew's Priory and St. Cross continued their good work until the arrival of the next Bishop.

CHAPTER XV

BISHOP WHIPPLE CALLED. BISHOP WILLIS ARRIVES.

After Bishop Staley left it was thought by many that another Bishop would not be sent. It is most interesting to note that a strong effort was made at this time to persuade Bishop Whipple of Minnesota to accept the Bishopric. He was formally requested to take charge by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom the King had requested to select another Bishop.

At this time the health of Bishop Whipple was in a bad way and his physician had advised him to seek a warm climate. He wrote to six Bishops and asked their advice. Bishop Horatio Potter of New York advised against it. The Bishop of Connecticut, John Williams, wrote that: "Between the King, Synod and the Bishops in England, things are in such a snarl that Solomon himself would hardly hope to set them straight." He could not advise him. Bishop Whitehouse of Chicago favored the move. He said he thought Bishop Whipple could meet the bitterness which had opposed Bishop Staley, and thought an American Bishop would allay irritation. "Annexation is the manifest destiny of the Sandwich Islands and you of all men can fashion the social elements." Bishop Whittingham of Maryland considered it a providential call. Bishop Huntington of Central New York and Bishop McIlvane of Ohio both believed that he should stay where he was.

In May Bishop Whipple sent his reply to England, stating that after one of the hardest trials of his life, he had decided to remain in Minnesota; that his brother Bishops whom he had consulted did not agree in their advice so that the decision rested with himself. He believed that his leaving

Minnesota would imperil the schools and missions and the work among the Indians, so he must decline the offer.[1]

Bishop Whipple's decision was pleasing to the Church in the United States, although if he had accepted, he would undoubtedly have had the generous support of the Board of Missions in New York and of his many friends in the United States and England of high position and large means who had implicit confidence in him.

It is true that the Church in the Islands was small and struggling, and the field, as far as the Hawaiians were concerned, was well covered by others, but had he come, he would have made friends of the Americans, English and Hawaiians, for he was a man of great tact, of a loving disposition, winning manner and devoid of extreme views of any kind. Again, his coming would have removed any suspicion that the Anglican Church was a political mission and doubtless the English Bishops considered this when they selected him.

In person Bishop Whipple was of tall and commanding presence and by the Indians he was called "Straight Tongue" because he always fulfilled his promises.

What the history of the Church in Hawaii would have been if Bishop Whipple had come, it is difficult to conjecture.

BISHOP WILLIS—FIRST YEARS.

After Bishop Staley resigned, Church affairs in Hawaii were at a low ebb. There were months in Honolulu when there was no celebration of the Holy Communion as Mr. Mackintosh was only in Deacon's Orders and Mr. Williamson did not come at once to Honolulu.

Archdeacon Mason had gone to England on the suggestion of the King to urge the appointment of another Bishop. He conveyed the promise of the King for a subscription of two hundred pounds per annum, for five years, and Miss Sellon pledged a like amount. The King died shortly after

1 Lights and Shadows, by Bishop Whipple, 1899, Chapter XXVIII.

Bishop Willis came and his pledge failed of accomplishment, but that of Miss Sellon was paid.

Having failed to get an American Bishop the authorities in England selected the Rev. Alfred Willis, a successful parish priest, and he accepted the call. He was consecrated February 2, 1872, in Lambeth Chapel by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester and Rochester.

I have been told that when Queen Emma was in England she met and heard preach a clergyman by the name of Willis who had greatly impressed her, and when the vacancy occurred in Hawaii she wrote to England stating that she thought Mr. Willis would fill the place admirably. The Bishops knew the Rev. Alfred Willis as a man of private means, and, moreover, he was a bachelor, and so would not have the expense of a family, which came so hard on Bishop Staley. This may have influenced the Bishops somewhat. When he came, Queen Emma saw that he was not the Willis she had in mind, but, whether this is correct or not, Queen Emma as a devoted Churchwoman was gracious, kind and loyal to the new Bishop.

Bishop Willis came by way of New York and San Francisco, and was accompanied by his sister Miss Willis, the Rev. Samuel H. Davis, Mrs. Davis and four others. The party arrived in Honolulu on June 30, 1872.

As soon as the Bishop got settled he began the publication of a Diocesan paper, at first called the Honolulu Magazine and Church Chronicle, but he soon changed it to the Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger, and later to the Honolulu Diocesan Magazine, published quarterly.

In the first number, published in August, he states that there had been previously a Church Magazine, but it had been a parish paper while this was to be the magazine of the Diocese. He begged the Church people in Honolulu not to regard themselves as a congregation but to consider the

Cathedral as the center of the Anglo-Hawaiian Church. "The Cathedral is the center from which the faith which we have received must be spread abroad." Here he set forth the Cathedral idea which has been so difficult for people to grasp. It has been hard for them to get away from the parochial view and parochialism.

The Bishop tells the people that they may look for assistance from the Church at home but, he adds, "This will be more freely given when it is known that the members of the Church on the Islands are doing what they can." He bids them not to despise the day of small things. "Do not despise it because the foundations of the Cathedral are still level with the ground, because the premises at Wailuku and Kona are untenanted, and the Sisterhood alone continues the work at Lahaina."

Bishop Willis faced the difficulties of the situation as a man to whom a strong faith gave courage.

On July 7, 1872, the Bishop was enthroned, the pastoral staff being borne by the Rev. Mr. Davis and the prayers read by Archdeacon Mason, who had removed his school from Lahaina to Honolulu.

The new Bishop was at once to suffer a loss in the ranks of the few remaining clergy. On August 1, the Rev. C. G. Williamson left the Island and Bishop Willis expressed himself as greatly disappointed that he should decide to leave the work for which he was ordained and he writes: "It is the more surprising that he should have chosen to leave the Diocese upon the arrival of a Bishop."

Well did Bishop Staley write a few years before: "The Roman Catholics have an advantage in missionary work. A priest goes out to live and die among his flock." Every Missionary Bishop has felt this in regard to all Church workers. They often leave after a short service and frequently for the most trivial reasons. The Roman Catholics on the other hand have Sisters and Lay-Brothers who stay

for life. It is a great charge also upon Mission Boards to have to pay the travelling expenses of missionaries and their families when, once in five years, they go home on furlough.

Bishop Willis set out at once to visit Maui and Hawaii in order to ascertain the conditions in places where the Church formerly had stations which were now vacant.

In August he went to Maui accompanied by the Rev. George Whipple and visited Ulapalakua and Wailuku.

At Lahaina he found the girls' school under Sister Phoebe had forty pupils and as the building previously used as a Church had been destroyed, the school room had been fitted up as a chapel. Here Mr. H. Dickenson had conducted Morning Prayer every Sunday.

After service at Lahaina the Bishop rode to Wailuku, twenty-five miles distant, for the evening service. There he found Mr. Whipple awaiting him and on Monday early they rode to Ulapalakua. (See Chapter on "Wailuku and Ulapalakua.")

The long rides Bishop Willis so often took, show that he was a man of remarkable endurance. He never writes that he was tired.

Continuing his inspection of the field the Bishop took a steamer from Maui to Hawaii and on landing at Kealakekua Bay he was met by Henry N. Greenwell. He spent the day calling upon the foreign residents and in making arrangements for the reopening of the Church which had been closed since Mr. Williamson left. The result of this visit was that the next week the Rev. S. H. Davis and wife left for Kona and at once proceeded to open a day school. With the exception of a short time when Mr. Davis went to Lahaina, he remained at Christ Church, Kona, until 1902, when he retired.

The account of the first few months of Bishop Willis's episcopate has been given at some length in order that Church conditions at that time may be understood. It was not im-

proved when, a few months later, Archdeacon Mason left the work after more than ten years of arduous service. He was a strong man, a good preacher and one whose work has lived in the hearts of many. He went to San Francisco and took charge of St. Alban's, a mission of Trinity Church, but did not remain there long.

On December 11, 1872, Kamehameha V died. He had been ill ever since the arrival of Bishop Willis. He named no successor, though when he lay dying he had expressed the wish that Bernice Pauahi Bishop should be Queen, but she refused to consider the proposal.[2]

In January, 1873, Lunalilo, a popular high chief, was elected by the legislature. He was a member of the Kawaiahao Church and had no special interest in the Anglican mission.

Meanwhile, an interesting and important event had occurred in the marriage of the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh and the widow, Mrs. Alice (Brown) von Holt, on December 26 at the pro-Cathedral. This remarkable woman, who had the love of the people in marked degree, became the greatest assistance to her husband in all things connected with the Church and its work. She had rare tact, and the faculty of interesting men and women in Church and benevolent activities and of holding them continuously.

The contributions of the foreign members of the Anglican Church were not sufficient for its support as the Bishop considered they should be. In August, therefore, he addressed them a letter in his magazine in which he set forth the need of another clergyman at the Cathedral, saying that it was only reasonable that they should support one. Only $900 had been given during the year to the clergy fund, while the amount needed for a stipend was $1,500. He had been obliged to charge the deficit to the Hawaiian Mission Fund, this consisting of money subscribed in England. Foreigners in

2 Memoirs of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, p. 209.

Honolulu should not be dependent on their brethren in England for the salary of a clergyman ministering to them. Some months later at a meeting of the congregation, steps were taken towards raising the amount needed.

The Bishop records a grant of $1,000 from the S. P. G. for new buildings at Iolani on condition that the land be handed over to the Church corporation. The Bishop, not being willing to accept the gift under these conditions, asked for permission to divide it between Lahaina and Kealakekua to be used for needed buildings. The request was granted.

Since March the Church Messenger had been printed at Iolani School. In the November number Bishop Willis began a series of articles on the education of the Hawaiians. He refers to the laxity of morals and ascribes it to a lack of proper instruction. He acknowledges the success of the system of education in operation under missionary supervision in teaching the people to read and write, but he points out that the Hawaiian law stated that it was the duty of parents and guardians to instruct their children by precept and example in a knowledge of the Christian religion. He argues that in the extension of boarding schools, especially those for girls, lies the hope for the future. Sunday Schools are not sufficient and many parents are not capable. Children must be taught the care of the body. He believes that denominational schools with capitation grants, based on reports of Government inspection, are needed. In some such system lies the hope of the future.

Like Bishop Staley, Bishop Willis blamed much of the recognized immorality to a lack of religious instruction. In this, neither gave the recognition which was due to the earnest efforts which had been made for many years by instruction and by legislation to better conditions. They seemed to think that if capitation grants were made to denominational day schools, under such a system as then prevailed in England, better results would have been obtained. From my own

observation of the results in England, in the days of the Bishops named, of the National schools under the Church and of schools under other Christian organizations, all being beneficiaries of the capitation system, I do not believe that the mere teaching of religion or reading the Bible to children in schools would have changed conditions materially in Hawaii. Children need to be taught religion in day schools and Sunday Schools but I believe the Hawaiian Education act was right when it placed on the home the chief burden of moral and religious training. I believe in boarding schools and that the boarding schools of the Roman Catholics, the Hawaiian Board and those under our Bishops have been of immense service, but the principals have found that the vacation months, if spent in a home of low moral tone, will generally undo the teaching received in school during nine months of the year.

The Bishops were wrong in thinking that if the Anglican Church had been here since 1820, conditions would have been far different from those they found. They were right in believing that boarding schools for girls were a pressing need. The Government was right in stating that the home was the true place for laying the foundations of morality and religion. It has been well said that if we would educate children we must begin with the grandparents, but even then, we all know that children from the best of homes very frequently depart from the way of the parents and build poor structures of moral character upon the good foundations laid in early childhood.

On February 3, 1874, King Lunalilo died without naming his successor. On February 12, a special session of the legislature was held to elect a monarch. There were two parties, one advocating the election of Kalakaua, a high chief, the other, the election of Queen Emma, a descendant in the Kamehameha line through her mother, the niece of Kamehameha I.

The Americans generally favored Kalakaua as the question of reciprocity with the United States was coming up and it was believed that he favored American interests. The English element and most Hawaiian Churchmen advocated Queen Emma, who, they knew, was English in sympathy.

At the time of the election there was great excitement and a riot in which some were injured. Queen Emma passed the night in the parlor of St. Andrew's Priory. It was her custom after the four o'clock service at the Cathedral to take tea with the Sisters, whom she loved, and it was to them she turned for sanctuary when she believed there might be danger. For many years there was a strong party of "Emma-ites" in the Islands.

When Kalakaua was elected, Bishop Willis congratulated Queen Emma that she had been saved from the harassing affairs of state.

Kalakaua was among the first whom Bishop Staley confirmed. He had assisted Kamehameha IV in the translation of the Prayer Book, he had taken the principal part in translating a selection of Hymns Ancient and Modern and, when he was made King, he was one of the trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii. His wife Kapiolani had been for several years a member of St. Andrew's Cathedral. In later years he lapsed and on his return from his world tour, his words are quoted to show his reversion to paganism. It is a fact, however, that on the Sunday before his death he received the Holy Communion in Trinity Church, San Francisco. (Diocesan Magazine, March, 1891.)

An order was issued by the Bishop to all the clergy that where the King's Majesty was prayed for (in the Prayer Book) the name of Kalakaua was to be inserted, and in the Litany, the following were to be mentioned by name: "Emma, the Queen Dowager, Queen Kapiolani, Prince Leleiohoku." In Hawaiian they were to say: "Emma, ka Moiwahine Kanemake, Kapiolani Moiwahine, ke Kama Alii Leleiohoku."

ENTRANCE TO THE OLD PRIORY

Just inside, in a room to the right, Queen Emma passed the night when Kalakaua was elected, Feb. 12, 1874.

Later the Bishop was severely criticised, even called disloyal, for putting Queen Emma's name before that of Kapiolani and of Leleiohoku, the declared heir to the throne. He defended himself by showing that the order given by him followed the usage in the Church of England where the Queen Dowager, if there is one living, is mentioned next to the King.

In England there had been started a Colonial Bishopric's Fund, and, among the Treasurers of the Fund, the names of Gladstone, Earl Nelson and Sir H. E. Bartle Frere appear. The Diocese of Honolulu is mentioned as having, with three others, the most urgent claim. Money gradually accumulated in the Honolulu Bishopric Fund which was paid to the local Church Corporation after the transfer of the Church to American jurisdiction, when it amounted to 2000 pounds.

On Sunday, March 5, 1874, the Rev. R. Dunn arrived to take the position of Senior priest at the Cathedral. His advent was eagerly expected and his financial support seemed assured in response to an appeal made by the Wardens, Henry May and Captain D. Smith. A clergy house then stood on the Cathedral grounds and this was enlarged for Mr. Dunn.

The Bishop, at this time, was greatly pleased by the coming of several clergymen, among whom was the Rev. W. Calder, who was placed in charge of the Mission at Waialua, Oahu. Lay-workers also arrived, among them Abel Clark from the Bishop's former parish in England. Mr. Clark made the ninth worker who had come to Hawaii from that parish, and it certainly speaks well for the estimation in which Bishop Willis was held by the people there, that so many were willing to follow him to this far off land. He had been deeply interested in the work among boys in England, as he showed himself to be in the boys of Hawaii, among whom for thirty years he did valuable work in training youth, many of whom are taking a leading part in several parishes

and missions in the Islands today, and by whom the Bishop is venerated as a teacher and exemplar.

At the end of 1874 the Mission was in good condition. Every station had its priest-in-charge and lay-workers as teachers and helpers filled all needs. But many of them did not stay long, Mr. Calder going to New Zealand before many months.

Up to February, 1875, Iolani School had received from the Board of Education of the Kingdom six scholarships of $100 each. The Board now proposed to make some changes with a view to economy. The Bishop argued that the school which had done good work had not been treated fairly. He later found that instead of six boys receiving free instruction, twelve were to have part scholarships paid for by a grant of $600 a year.

In April Bishop Willis writes that a remark had been made to him that the progress of the Anglican Church in Hawaii had been retarded more from want of unity within than by opposition from without. He cites an example to illustrate this fact. But this experience is not peculiar to Bishop Willis, the truth applies to organizations generally. Some people make trouble regardless of the harm to the work or the individual.

Bishop Willis was vexed not only by criticism from within but also from without. All residents of Hawaii have been annoyed by the written words of snap judgment from those who have been here but a short time.

Miss Isabel L. Bird spent six months in the Hawaiian Islands in 1874 and next year published a book which was widely read. What she said about the Church vexed Bishop Willis and drew forth a reply. She wrote of the Cathedral: "The ritual is high. I am told it is above the desires and comprehension of most of the Island Episcopalians." Again: "I doubt whether the English Church on these Islands can be anything but a pining and sickly exotic."

Bishop Willis, in his reply said that Miss Bird had arrived in Honolulu on a Friday, attended St. Andrew's on Sunday and sailed for Hilo on Monday. She could not therefore have learned what was the mind of "most of the Episcopalians." Moreover, she was a Presbyterian, a member of Dr. Guthrie's church in Edinburgh, and this, no doubt, was the reason that the ritual was above her comprehension. He wondered if Miss Bird knew of the struggles of the Church in the United States and how it had grown. He tells Miss Bird that "the Anglican Church had never yet abandoned a field of missionary work on which she had entered, and, God help her, she never would."

Miss Bird was a charming writer and a keen observer, though her surmises were not always correct. Her vision of the future of the Islands is an example of this. She describes the civilization as exotic and she does not see any commercial or agricultural future for Hawaii. She speaks of the national feeling of the Americans and English and the division into cliques which had increased since the coming of the English Church. She adds: "Except sugar and dollars one rarely hears any other subject spoken about with general interest." Still despite the indulgence in gossip by all classes, she knew of no other country outside of England in which she would rather live.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DIOCESAN SYNOD

The organization of a Diocesan Synod was suggested by a resolution of the Lambeth Conference in 1867. It was led to take this action because New Zealand and other Colonies had taken this step with successful results.

When the great Bishop Selwyn went to New Zealand in 1841 he saw at once how inadequate was the provision for the government of the Church. The only law under which he could act was the cumbersome Church law of England which had grown up during many centuries to fit local conditions. The Bishop saw that the Church in New Zealand must have power to make its own laws. As it was, he had been invested with autocratic powers by the Letters Patent from the Crown. He held the Church property as Corporation sole. He began at once to seek the advice of learned men on the subject of Church organization. He often refers to the Constitution and Canons of the American Church as those which should be a model but which should be adapted to suit local needs.

He was from the first restive under conditions, and many regulations and practices of the Church of England he interpreted with "common sense." He said: "I believe the monarchical idea of the Episcopate to be as foreign to the true mind of the Church as it is to the Gospel doctrine of humility."[1] Mr. Gladstone pointed out to him that the Synodical form of government independent of the State was, "the basis on which the Church of Christ rested at first."

It was not until 1857 that the first conference of the two Bishops of New Zealand with clergy and laity met and agreed upon a constitution, for which document they acknowledged an obligation to the American Church. The

1 Life of A. Selwyn, 1879, p. 89.

first Synod met in 1859 and adopted this constitution and thirty-two articles which were in effect canons and rules of procedure.

Bishop Willis, having in mind what had been done in New Zealand, convened a primary Synod which met in October, 1880. The Constitution which was adopted was based on that of New Zealand, having the same divisions, "Fundamental Provisions, Provisions not Fundamental, and a Schedule." It is much shorter than that of New Zealand but whole articles are practically identical.

The weak spot was that it had no Canons of the general Church to fall back upon as the American Dioceses have, and thus the Diocese of Honolulu was still under English Church law and methods of procedure.

This fact accounts for much of the trouble which arose on questions during the last years of Bishop Willis' Episcopate. In 1903 I showed one of the staunchest friends of Bishop Willis, a strong and faithful Churchman, what Bishop Selwyn said about the many things in English Church law which were utterly inapplicable in New Zealand and how that great Bishop put them aside or adapted them in a "common sense" way, as the words are in his biography. The Churchman referred to said: "I now understand why Bishop Willis did many things which I did not then comprehend. He was bound by customs and regulations which did not fit conditions here."

Bishop Willis wrote me in 1904 that I had the advantage of the Canons of the American Church, and of this Missionary District, which enabled me to act under definite and plain law, and added: "Such a body of law I did not have." This was very true.

At the primary Synod mentioned, there were present the Rev. Messrs T. Blackburn, Alex. Mackintosh, C. E. Groser (of Wailuku and Lahaina) and S. H. Davis (of Kona). The laymen were E. Hutton, E. W. Jordan, Antone Rosa, F. H.

Hayselden, Captain H. W. Mist and G. S. Harris. The proposed Constitution was adopted with some minor amendments.

The second meeting of the Synod was in October, 1882. The name of the Rev. George Wallace (who arrived that year) appears as minister of the English speaking congregation, as also that of the Rev. Abel Clark (Deacon) of Waialua. The last named came out from England in 1874 to teach at Iolani. He married Miss Caroline Smith, a sister of Henry Smith, so long associated with the work of the Diocese. There was also present the Rev. R. Wainwright, then at Kapaa, Kauai. The new names of lay representatives were, T. May and T. R. Walker of Honolulu and C. Sneyd-Kynnersley of Kohala.

At this session it was resolved, on the Bishop's suggestion, that he be requested to take such steps as might be necessary for a union of the Diocese of Honolulu with the Province of New Zealand, and to this end to make enquiries of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the S. P. G. and the Primate of New Zealand, whether such union would merely relieve the Diocese from its isolation, or whether it would affect the support which the S. P. G. gave to it.

The next session met in April, 1887, when the Bishop reported the death of the Rev. Abel Clark and the departure of the Rev. Messrs. Wainwright, Groser, Whalley and Swan. The new clergy on the list were the Rev. W. H. Barnes of Lahaina, H. H. Gowen and J. M. Silver, Honolulu. The laymen were the same as in 1884.

Bishop Willis reported that he had consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury and others as to union with the Province of New Zealand and because of financial responsibilities which such union would involve, he felt that no further steps could be taken in the matter at present.

This Synod for the first time exercised its power under the Charter and elected the Board of Trustees. Those elected

were the Rev. Messrs. Mackintosh, Wallace and Davis and Messrs. M. P. Robinson, T. May, H. Smith, and the Hon. R. F. Bickerton.

A resolution was carried that it was most desirable that the Synod should have at each session full particulars as to the status of the Church and the Bishop be requested to obtain annual reports from parishes and missions and have them tabulated and published in the journal. This motion was offered by the Rev. George Wallace, who knew from his experience in the United States that such reports and lists were by canon compulsory. Resolutions asking the Bishop to obtain such reports were offered and carried at subsequent meetings of the Synod but no tabulated statement was published by him until 1901.

In November, 1891, at the meeting of the Synod there were five priests present and one deacon, the Rev. V. H. Kitcat, who had been recently ordained. The lay membership shows a change as among the eight on the list are T. Ahung, L. Aseu, C. F. Short, C. H. White.

Serious dissension had occurred between the Bishop and the Board of Trustees which led to resolutions in the Synod. The Bishop himself tells of these differences in a pamphlet which he printed in 1890 at the request of King Kalakaua, C. N. Spencer, J. S. Walker, C. P. Iaukea and Henry Smith.

The first occasion of dispute with the Trustees of the Church Corporation was in 1882. When the Bishop was absent in England a small house, which had been erected by Bishop Staley as a residence for a priest of the Cathedral, was sold for $100 by the Trustees. The Bishop held that it was not their property and they had no right to sell.

The second occasion was in 1888, when the Bishop was in attendance at the Lambeth Conference, a memorandum of agreement was entered into by the Trustees to exchange a certain portion of the Cathedral site for a piece of land which gave a frontage on Beretania Street. On the Bishop's return

he negatived the agreement. He held that this land had been given to the Church by Kamehameha IV and had been set apart by the laying of the foundation of the Cathedral and the erection of a part thereof and could never be alienated, as it no longer was the property of the Trustees but belonged to God. He cited English law in support of his position. The Trustees requested the Bishop to call a meeting of the Board, but this he declined to do. The Trustees carried the matter into courts of law and the Supreme Court ordered him to call a meeting. He did so but declared the motion to exchange the property was out of order. The Trustees again carried it into court and a new writ was issued. He complained that the action of the Trustees was insincere. He wrote: "Who can wonder that the chariot wheels of the Anglican Church run heavily, when such unreasonable obstruction comes not from without but from within." He says that the trouble was "brought about by the action of Englishmen."

In looking back one can readily be thankful that the Bishop held out against this exchange, as the portion of the Cathedral site offered in exchange would have brought a part of the Cummins property nearly to the doors of the Cathedral, as it now stands.

However, the position taken under English law that Church property, after it has a Church upon it, can never be sold or alienated, does not hold in the United States, where any Church property, and even a Church building, can be sold or alienated by the consent of the Bishop and Standing Committee, or in a Missionary District, the Council of Advice.

At the Synod of 1891 resolutions were passed calling upon the government to lend "encouragement to the employment of remedial methods for leprosy elsewhere found beneficial." This referred to a belief which the Bishop had in a "New Science of Healing called Electro Homeopathy."

Commenting on this Synod the Bishop wrote that its action had brought the Anglican Church "into smoother

waters than it had seen for some time past." This was because the Synod had by vote declined to censure the Bishop for objecting on two occasions to submit resolutions to the Board of Trustees and because it sustained the Bishop in his action relating to the Barnes bequest, of which he claimed he was the trustee and not the Church Corporation.

In 1893, three priests and two deacons were present and several new lay representatives, viz., S. Meheula, E. Stiles, Yap See Young and S. Nowlein of Lahaina. The Synod heard with approval of the application made to the Archbishop of Canterbury for a commission to enquire into all matters touching the peace of the Diocese.

The Bishop in his address refers to the taking part by a clergyman in services connected with lodges, such as a memorial service and the burial of the dead. He maintained that the clergy were restricted to the Book of Common Prayer.

From what Mr. Mackintosh told me in 1902, he was the one to whom the Bishop referred, he having taken part in a Masonic service.

A Sacred Synod, consisting of the clergy, was called to consider the matter. When Mr. Mackintosh heard the object for which the meeting was called, he left the church. Without mentioning any name, taking part in such services by the clergy was condemned by resolution.

I may state in this connection that it is a common thing in the United States for priests of this Church to take part in such services as there is no canon touching the point. In my own practice and in my advice to the clergy, as Bishop, I have followed the custom of having the burial service entire, and then if the family wishes, the lodge can have such service as is in their ritual. As chaplains of lodges, American clergy are often called upon to take part in lodge funerals and do so.

The Synods of 1895, 1897 and 1901 were chiefly occupied with discussions as to the union of the two English speaking congregations, and with preparation for the transfer of the

Church to American jurisdiction. These subjects are treated elsewhere under the title of the "Second Congregation" and "Annexation and the Status of the Church."

New names among the clergy are the Rev. Messrs. C. H. Tomkins of Hamakua, Kong Yin Tet, and L. Byrde of Kohala. Among the laity appear P. Jones, G. E. Smithies, W. F. L. Stanley, F. Wood, C. F. Fitz and W. Hall.

The "smoother waters" of which the Bishop had spoken after the Synod of 1893 do not appear to have remained smooth long, for in every succeeding Synod there was much unfortunate discussion, often of an acrimonious character.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SECOND ENGLISH SPEAKING CONGREGATION AND ITS TROUBLES.

Under Bishop Staley there were two congregations worshipping in the pro-Cathedral. One of these was known as the Foreign Congregation, using the English Prayer Book, the other, the Hawaiian Congregation, using the Prayer Book translated into Hawaiian by Kamehameha IV. These two congregations were both under the Cathedral organization.

Bishop Willis found this arrangement on his arrival in 1872 and made a change. Many of the Hawaiians were now familiar with English and he desired as far as possible to have but one congregation. But for those who did not understand English he made provision for services in Hawaiian with the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh as priest and pastor.

There were evidences of discontent from time to time and in 1881 this was manifested by a petition of prominent laymen who were not in sympathy with the conduct of the services. They were not accustomed to the ceremonial used in public worship at the Cathedral. The petition stated that the congregations were not larger than they had been in 1863 although the town had increased in population. People were not attracted but rather repelled by the methods in use.

In 1885 the Bishop had serious differences with the Cathedral Building Committee. At a meeting the members had spoken to the Bishop freely about Church affairs generally, and the differences culminated in August of that year, when a memorial was sent to the Bishop, requesting permission to organize as a distinct congregation with the privilege of worshipping in the Cathedral.

The memorial respectfully suggested that certain steps be taken which the signers believed "would promote to a very

important extent the welfare of the congregation and the success of the Anglican Church in Honolulu." The request was:

1. That the members of the English speaking congregation be formed into a distinct society having authority to elect their own minister subject to the approval of the Bishop.

2. That the minister so elected should have full charge of the services during such hours as may be allotted for their having the use of the Cathedral.

3. That the said congregation shall be allotted the use of the Cathedral for morning and evening services on Sunday, on Wednesday evening, and for services on festivals when not required for other purposes.

4. That it be allowed the use of available buildings for Sunday School and other meetings.

5. That the said congregation assume all liability respecting the existing engagement with the Rev. George Wallace, and that he be licensed by the Bishop as their minister.

6. That the offertories at the services of said congregation shall be available for the general expenses of the congregation and expended under their direction and that the care and cleaning of the Cathedral shall be provided out of said funds. On two special days annually, the offertories shall be given to the Bishop for such missionary purposes as he may designate.

This memorial was signed by A. S. Cleghorn, Thomas Browne, Tom May, Thomas R. Walker, C. E. Henson, Richard H. Bickerton, Theo. H. Davies and thirty others. Accompanying it was a letter from the Churchwarden, Thomas R. Walker, stating that the granting of the request "would be of great value in furthering some objects which they with you have deeply at heart." It was felt that the changes "would be accompanied by a new effort, which they would do their best to make successful for the extinction of

the debt of the Organ Fund and the Clergy Fund and would in a very material way advance the building of the new Cathedral."

This memorial was followed by many letters between the Bishop and Mr. Walker. The Bishop wrote that the proposed change would create a division of the English speaking members of the Cathedral. He desired to know the reasons which led the signers to believe that the interests of the Church would be advanced.

At this juncture Theo. H. Davies wrote a letter to the Bishop couched in most respectful language and expressing in strong terms "his desire, with that of the signers, to do everything in his power to draw together more closely the chief pastor and his flock."

The Bishop resented the letter as an interference in the negotiations with the petitioners as a body and a correspondence ensued. There was unfortunate gossip on the outside that "the congregation has threatened to withhold the money," and "the Bishop will not let the congregation dictate," etc. This Mr. Davies and the other signers deplored as it "struck a fatal blow at peace."

On October 3, 1885, the Bishop gave his decision. He was deeply grieved that the petitioners desired to separate themselves and so entail two English Speaking Congregations, and cease to bear their share in maintaining the clergy and services of the Cathedral. Nevertheless, he was willing to give his permisison if they agreed to the schedule which he submitted.

The signers must assume all existing liabilities for the running expenses of the Cathedral up to date. They must guarantee the payment of the debt on the Cathedral building and heartily coöperate with the Bishop in the erection of two bays of the nave.

In reply Mr. Walker respectfully denied the statement that they would cease to bear their share of the expenses of

the Cathedral. On the contrary, they assumed all the expenses they had heretofore borne, and in addition agreed to pay the whole cost of the care and cleaning of the Cathedral.

The conditions were finally agreed to and later the Bishop was handed the receipt of Robert Lishman, showing that he had received $2,995 in full payment for the work on the chancel.[1]

The schedule of services was set forth as follows:

The Cathedral English Speaking (or the Bishop's) Congregation was to have the use of the Cathedral at 6:30 and 9:30 a. m. and 6:30 p. m. Provision was made for a Hawaiian service at 3:30 p. m. The second English Speaking Congregation was to meet at 11:15 a. m. and 7:30 p. m.

The Rev. George Wallace, who was licensed to have charge of the latter, had been one of the Cathedral clergy since 1882. He was an excellent man, loving peace and good will, and is remembered with affection and respect by many now living. He considered the above arrangement unfortunate, but owing to peculiar conditions, necessary. It brought about, as it was bound to do, misunderstandings, jealousies and hard feelings between the two English Speaking Congregations. The one directly under the Bishop had few in numbers and these were without large means. The other, which was practically a parish, had the numbers and the wealth, but under the peculiar circumstances the division was unavoidable, as the Bishop admitted.

Matters now seemed settled for a time, but in January, 1886, Theo. H. Davies, Treasurer of the Building Committee, criticised in a letter the statement of the Bishop in regard to the amount needed to finish that part of the Cathedral it was proposed to build. The Bishop had said that: "to take a fresh contract for the two bays called for $6,263 in excess of the sum required to discharge all existing liabilities."

Mr. Davies contended that the Bishop had "placed out

[1] Pamphlet published August, 1898.

of sight the sum of $9,712, so that what was needed above the pledges and funds on hand was $15,975."

Open letters appeared in the public press and the dispute unfortunately became personal and acrimonious, the Bishop using strong language which Mr. Davies resented. This gentleman was the son of an English Congregational (Independent) minister and had never been confirmed, but he believed that the Anglican Church was best fitted to maintain stable government in England and Hawaii. He became an adherent of the Anglican mission when it was established in Honolulu. He had been admitted to communion by the Rev. C. G. Williamson, but this permission was withdrawn in 1872, the Bishop stating that Mr. Williamson was a "traitor to the faith" for having admitted him. Some years later the Bishop sent Mr. Davies word that it would be a gratification to him if he would resume his place as a communicant. Mr. Davies had been a generous supporter of the work of the Church, though he deplored its "stagnation" and was most anxious to assist in work, especially for the many young Englishmen in the community.

The Bishop now stated that one grave mistake of his episcopate was in allowing Mr. Davies to come to communion without confirmation, "and that Mr. Davies was not entitled to vote on Church affairs."

Early in 1886 the Bishop sent a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stating that "Theophilus H. Davies, Her British Majesty's Vice-Consul, had accused him of 'placing out of sight' a debt of nearly $10,000. . . . If the accusation were true it would disqualify him from continuing to exercise his office of Bishop." He asked, therefore, for an investigation. "If the charges are found to be false, I shall ask His Grace to call the attention of Lord Salisbury to this attack on the episcopate by the delegate of Her Majesty's Representative in Honolulu." Mr. Davies replied that the Bishop confused his personal with official acts, but invited

the Bishop to lay his complaints before Her Majesty's Commissioner in Honolulu, to whom alone he was responsible. He declined to continue the correspondence.[2]

But the trouble did not end here. In January, 1889, four of the Trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii resigned owing to continual disagreement with the Bishop. These four men were the Rev. George Wallace, Messrs. Tom May, M. P. Robinson and Justice Bickerton. The remaining three members with the Bishop met in February, and, to fill the vacancies, elected the Rev. Messrs. S. H. Davis and W. H. Barnes, and Messrs. Edmund Stiles and G. S. Harris.

The Synod met in May and refused to confirm these names and elected Captain Mist, M. P. Robinson, T. R. Walker, L. Aseu, C. S. Kynnersley and Tom May.

At a meeting of the Second Congregation in April, 1889, it was resolved to send a statement of the condition of Church affairs in Honolulu to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the S. P. G., the S. P. C. K. and the London branch of the Building Committee of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

The letter as sent said: "We are constrained to represent to you the unhappy conditions of the relations between the Bishop of Honolulu on one hand and some of the clergy and a large part of the laity on the other, and to ask the advice of your Grace as to the course of conduct calculated to alleviate our grave trouble.

"We desire in the first place to assert our loyal obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England and our earnest will to assist to the best of our power in the perpetuation and increase of its work to the glory of God and the spread of His Kingdom, an end towards which we have endeavored to direct our labors and offerings. We can not be charged with an intention of avoiding any pecuniary charges necessary to this object, for our means have been freely given

[2] Pamphlet published 1889.

to the building of the Cathedral and to other required expenditures for the work of the Church. . . . Towards the object we have in view wise leadership would greatly help our progress, and without such direction our position seems one of hopeless stagnation, if not one threatened with decay.

"We are not involved in any controversy with the Bishop as to doctrine or ritual. . . . It is not in spiritual matters that any question of the position of our Bishop is now made, and he knows that we endeavor at all times to view his sacred office with the reverence and respect to which his consecration entitles it.

"Loyal and honest suggestion to obtain a share in the direction of temporal affairs . . . were construed by the Bishop as an infringement upon his rights and through the communication of his views to the secular press were made a cause of public scandal and great injury to the Church."[3]

It went on to state that the Bishop had refused to convene or sanction the meetings of the Cathedral Building Committee and had accused its members of improper conduct. They felt that the difficulties proceeded from the Bishop's unwillingness to encourage voluntary effort in temporal affairs, "unless they are exactly in the form which recommends itself to his unaided judgment and obedience to his dictation." They made therefore an earnest appeal for the Archbishop's advice and counsel.

This was signed by H. W. Mist, M. P. Robinson, T. May, T. R. Walker, A. T. Atkinson, R. F. Bickerton, T. M. Starkey, E. W. Jordan, A. S. Cleghorn, F. M. Swanzy, C. Crozier and J. W. Podmore. After each name was a statement of the relation of the signer to the Cathedral and the Diocese.[4]

At this juncture in August, 1889, the Rev. George Wallace resigned, as he was weary of the constant contentions. The Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, who had been connected

3 Pamphlet 1889.
4 Pamphlet 1898.

with the mission since 1869, was chosen in his place. Mr. Mackintosh was principal of the Royal School under the Government at a salary of $200 a month. This was regarded with particular disfavor by the Bishop who said that the Second Congregation had ceased to be self supporting. He maintained that no one could hold two such positions in England or the United States.

In this the Bishop was not correct, as I have known priests in the United States who had charge of a congregation and at the same time taught in government schools, receiving salaries from both sources. Also in England I have known clergymen in charge of a congregation while holding a principalship in a school.

Mr. Wallace and Mr. Mackintosh had commenced the publication of the Anglican Church Chronicle in 1883 and after the departure of Mr. Wallace, Mr. Mackintosh continued this monthly periodical.

There had been dissension in regard to the manner of contracting a loan for the Building Committee and then another question arose. The Trustees requested the Bishop to call a meeting as they desired to present a resolution disposing of a cottage in the rear of the Chinese Church then building. The Bishop contended that the corporation held the title of the land, but the minister and wardens had control of the premises. In October, 1889, five of the Trustees took the matter into the courts and a writ of mandamus was issued ordering the Bishop to call the meeting. This he did, but when the resolution was offered he closed the meeting and again the matter was taken to the courts. The minister and wardens had then a plan to remove the building.

In October, 1890, members of the Second English Speaking Congregation and many of the Bishop's Cathedral Congregation signed a petition asking the Bishop to resign. It said: "We do so in the firm belief that whilst your Lordship is in charge of this Diocese, peace and harmonious work

about Cleveland's mother, a Presbyterian minister's wife in New England.

The sentiment not only affected dress but was carried into the meeting house itself, which was to be bare, having no,

"Windows richly dight
Shedding their dim, religious light."

or other things "for beauty and for glory."

There has been an emergence from these ideas since the days which many of us older ones remember, but this was the attitude of American Christians generally in 1820, except among members of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Episcopal Churches, which were then in proportion of numbers much smaller than later on. The growth of this Church in the United States was in part due to the fact that it left the matter of amusements and personal adornment to the individual conscience and was content to warn against abuses.

In this day, except in certain localities, the various denominations have changed their attitude towards amusements and the world generally has gone to the other extreme and made pleasure a chief aim in life.

The missionaries came to Hawaii bringing with them the spirit of New England in regard to amusements. It was unfortunate that many of the games of the Hawaiians were discouraged or forbidden, as not seemly for a Christian. But they saw that gambling and other evils attended the games and the Puritan method is generally to forbid rather than to regulate.

Stewart, the missionary, in 1825, wrote of the natives that they not only attended religious instructions but they "studiously avoided every kind of amusement and pastime not consistent with strict sobriety and Christian decorum."[1]

Blackman says of the missionaries: "They had little sym-

1 Stewart. Sandwich Islands, p. 270.

pathy with the aesthetic, the sentimental, the ceremonial and the sportive."[2]

Dr. Anderson referring to Kapiolani: "Hers was the religion of the Puritan and the pious reader will desire that all these Islanders from the highest to the lowest will be like her."[3]

Jarves, in his "Confessions" attacks the system as follows: "Their white instructors in taking away their games, dances and festivals and wars had given them nothing as an outlet for their natural energies. A polka or waltz was proscribed as the dances of the devil. Theatricals were something worse. Horse racing no better than hell's tournaments. Smoking was a capital sin. Native songs and festivals all smacked of eternal damnation. There was nothing left to the poor native for the indulgence of his physical forces. The most rigid principles of the most rigid Protestant sects were made the standard of salvation."[4]

Others expressed similar sentiments, though usually in less caustic language. C. F. Wood in his "Cruise of the South Seas," says of the missionaries in Polynesia that "in view of the vagabond English, American, and Portuguese, it is a marvel that they have done as much as they have." Then he goes on to say: "There comes with these Protestant missionaries for the natives a cropped head, no flowers for the hair, the heart is never gladdened by the sound of a song, and all dancing of every description is strictly forbidden; the young men are forbidden the sport of wrestling and all kinds of manly games. Such is the result of this peculiar phase of Christianity that has been bred in the foggy, gloom-compelling climate of the North. This form of Christianity passes over the country like a tidal wave and then recedes. It takes away from the converted natives their dancing, singing and manly sports, but nothing is given to supply their

[2] Blackman, p. 78.
[3] Anderson, p. 195.
[4] Confessions of an Inquirer, Jarves, 1857, p. 158.

place. I believe that their amusements were natural and necessary habits to them. Many intelligent natives have told me that with this religion the people have become idle and shiftless."

Whether under a different system than that which he saw in the South Sea Islands, a better result would have been obtained is a matter of conjecture. It is true, however, that many good people in Hawaii and in other groups of Islands, believed that the criticism was just. The missionaries themselves came to know that their regulations led to hypocrisy and secret practice of forbidden things. The mistake made was that of the Puritan system and not of the men.

But the objection was not only to such amusements as have been mentioned. General Samuel C. Armstrong in his charming Reminiscences, 1887, page 72,, wrote of the children of the Mission: "We were all subjected to the severest Puritanic discipline. The Maternal Association took up the more hopeless cases of those who played checkers, or said 'By George.' The boys were thrown into convulsions when they heard an excited missionary father say 'By Jingo.'" But Armstrong was like the other boys and helped himself to the mission sugar barrel, when Messrs. Castle and Cooke were not looking. He further wrote: "We were brought up on New England boys, and I can remember the interest with which I watched the first importation of these marvels into Honolulu and our delight when we discovered that they were even worse than we were."

When the Anglican Church came to Hawaii one objection raised was its attitude towards amusements which the Protestant missionaries had forbidden. The day of such objections has now largely passed away, and the other extreme has been reached until, as Sir Philip Gibbs says of Europe, it seems to have gone mad on amusements and dancing. Dancing, even in schools founded by Puritans, is no longer forbidden but encouraged, and sometimes is seen done

in a way which shocks Puritan and Churchmen alike.

THE HULA.

The missionaries frowned upon the hula, about which there is a difference of opinion. Cook saw hulas on Hawaii and comments favorably, saying they were probably ceremonial dances.[5]

Vancouver was entertained by an exhibition of the hula on which occasion there were several acts. The first were interesting but the last one was accompanied by many lascivious gestures which were not agreeable to him.[6]

Menzies writes enthusiastically of a dancer whom he saw whose actions with "measured paces, fascinating movements and graceful attitudes, so punctually timed, were beyond the power of description."[7]

Kotzebue wrote that the hula was pleasing. "The whole bore the impression of pure nature and delighted me more than the European ballet."[8] At another time he wrote: "The hula filled me with admiration."

Arago in 1819 speaks of the "gaiety and agility" of the dancers and makes no disparaging remarks.[9] It would appear that some navigators did not see the hula, as they do not mention it. It was usually performed before those of high rank.

The chaplain of the Blonde saw the dance which he describes as "religious, heroic and amatory."

Stewart, the missionary who arrived in 1823, mentions the hula but raises no objections to it on the score of indecency.

Ellis, about the same time, tells of seeing the hula on six occasions. He describes it and on each occasion saw nothing objectionable. He writes: "Their movements were slow and though not always graceful, exhibited nothing offensive to

5 Cook, 1784, Vol. II, Book I, p. 142.
6 Vancouver.
7 Menzies, p. 168.
8 Kotzebue, pp. 337 and 254.
9 Arago, Part II, p. 59.

modest propriety."[10] The hulas which Ellis saw were no doubt historical, heroic and religious. The Hawaiians were quick to know what would offend and were aware he would not like amatory dances.

Bingham, the sturdy old Puritan, tells at length of the hula and remarks on the scantiness of the apparel of the dancers. He says: "Of course they could not flourish in modest communities."[11]

What would the dear man say of the dress or the actions of some of the dancers on the stage, or even in the ball room of today?

"A Haole" in a remote part of Molokai describes what was certainly a licentious hula. He was dressed so that he might be taken for a runaway sailor. He said of this: "Islanders conceal many things from the missionaries as they have a secret dread of their spiritual teachers." But, he adds that this was but human nature and it is the same in professedly Christian countries.[12]

David Malo says the hula was a popular amusement, which was used to confer distinction upon the alii. He mentions seven kinds of the hula.[13]

Dr. Emerson, in his notes to Malo's Antiquities says the hula degenerated and went to the bad when the white men came. The hula was "no better and no worse than other Polynesian institutions. The modern hula is no more a fair representation of the savage Hawaiian, than the Parisian cancan is of a refined civilized dance." Dr. Alexander does not wholly agree with Emerson but admits that there were different kinds of the hula and the worst as a rule has survived.

The lei was associated with the hula, in a way, as the dancers were bedecked with them. A curious instance of this is an incident during Bishop Staley's episcopate. It

10 Ellis, p. 59.
11 Bingham, p. 123-4.
12 A Haole, p. 285.
13 David Malo, translated by Dr. N. B. Emerson, p. 303.

appears that the Bishop attended a luau at Waikiki where a hula was danced. Mark Twain, who was here at the time, wrote an article for a California paper in which he scores the Bishop and describes him as having "his holy head decked out in the flower and evergreen trumpery of the hulahula girls."[14]

I wonder what Mark Twain would say if he saw a steamer depart today, or if he attended a luau! He was in error in some of his statements. He was here when Kamehameha IV died and writes: "The Bishop revived the half forgotten howling and hula dancing and other barbarisms in the palace yard and officiated there as a sort of master of ceremonies. For many a year before he came that wretchedest of all wretched instruments, the tom tom, had not been heard in the heart of Honolulu but he has reinstated it. . . . There were not ten men in the kingdom who had seen the like before in public." This is nonsense. On the death of Kamehameha III there had been the usual wailing and other customary native ceremonies, as people now living remember, and most of us who have lived here long have seen and heard such things and have not been shocked.

It was my custom years ago to take strangers to the Lunalilo Home. At that time an aged Hawaiian lived there who was one of the last who could play on the nose flute, give calls on the conch shell and play the ukeke. When he had displayed his skill on these instruments he used to chant the hulas of the Kings and Queens from Kamehameha I to Kalakaua. He did this while seated, accompanying his singing with the motions given by his hands and arms. An elderly haole hearing of these harmless and interesting doings complained to the trustees that I was reviving heathen customs as Bishop Staley had been accused of doing fifty years before. I was notified in polite way that it was not thought best to have these performances continued. Later I learned that the

[14] Article in possession of the writer.

real objectors were some old inmates of the Home who were jealous of the singer on account of the little money I gave him for tobacco.

I have seen many hulas, some of them most graceful, and some quite the contrary, but I never saw anything indecent. No doubt this was because I was not a tourist seeking that kind of thing and paying well to see it.

There is no doubt, however, that, as Dr. Alexander said, the worst forms of the hula have survived when the dance is performed in the presence of those who wish to see an immodest show, but any one who travels knows that if one wishes to see indecent or nude exhibitions he can find such in any city if he pays the price asked. One thing those who do not know the Hawaiians would find it hard to believe, and that is, that they are modest in regard to exposure of their persons, but it is nevertheless a fact, as kamaainas know.

Roland Bloxam in a letter to his uncle in 1825 says of bathing in the sea: "They have also, which may surprise one, a great regard for decency and never enter the water entirely naked." Even when the sexes did bathe together in a nude state, old Hawaiians have told me that they turned their backs each to the other until they were in the water.

Peoples differ in regard to clothing and modesty. Some consider it immodest for a woman to expose her face, others believe it quite consistent with modesty to leave the face, arms and neck bare, but immodest to expose the legs. The people who wore little clothes, if they thought of the matter at all, may have held the opinion of a well educated young woman of an old Boston family who said to me: "Why should I hide the body which God has given me. I am not ashamed of it."

Times have changed. The missionaries sought to clothe the Hawaiian women. Now a Hawaiian man fathers legislation forbidding the scanty bathing costumes of haole women.

NOTE. Liliuokalani and the Hula.

Since writing the above, Curtis P. Iaukea has handed me some clippings from the Bulletin and Advertiser with a note written and signed by Liliuokalani.

On December 7, 1886, the Advertiser commented on a hula given at the old Opera House. "We think a great mistake was committed by those who had the moulding of Hawaiian habits and morals in forbidding as sinful athletic sports and innocent amusements. . . . The native people love music and dancing. So do the foreign population. . . . The Puritanism which condemned all dancing as sinful, by this extreme encourages the assault upon good morals and decency of the hula. There is no relaxation of this rigid rule even now. . . . We state the point plainly because the hula has become a social ulcer which must be healed. . . . It must be stopped. . . . The hula may have protectors but it must go. . . . At the same time innocent amusements should be provided for the native people. They should be taught dancing and innocent amusements."

The Bulletin of December 9, 1886, had an article on the hula. It said: "Not one word can be said in its defence. Any one who defends the hula does so from ignorance or perversion. . . . The hula is bad, decidedly bad, unmistakably bad. There is no element to palliate its badness."

Liliuokalani wrote below these clippings as follows: "The writer of the above article must have had actual experience else the above comments would never have been made. It is done by actresses in Washington, D. C., Boston, New York and other great American cities, still they do not have a name for it. But in America and Europe, all over the world, the Hawaiian dance is tame to those in America. I have seen scenes on the stage more repulsive than any Hawaiian hula, and yet the vast audience of five thousand would clap their hands and cheer a French danseuse at a theater in New York who wore tights and short skirts and do the same thing on the stage." (Signed) Liliuokalani.

REMAINS OF HEATHENISM.

It is not surprising that the Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Society for 1863 mentions that relics of heathenism still prevailed. It would have been astonishing if the beliefs and superstitions of centuries had been obliterated by forty years of Christian teaching.

As to superstitions the difference between Hawaiians and white people is one of kind after all. Hawaiians believe that it is unlucky for one to walk with the hands at one's back, to sweep out the house after dark, to have a kamani tree near the house.

Among Americans it is unlucky to have thirteen at table, to put up an umbrella in the house, to return to a house after starting from it unless one sits down before going out again, to break a mirror means seven years of bad luck, etc., etc. All these things have no reference to cause and effect, they come from suggestions received in childhood which are difficult to eradicate, and many educated people are influenced by them. As to charms, human beings everywhere and in all ages have believed in them in one way or another.

Again, kahunaism is not dead. Many Hawaiians, besides having a doctor will, today, secretly seek a kahuna. But if one reads the columns of many mainland newspapers he will find notices of men and women claiming mystic powers of healing and divination.

I have seen in Hawaii a kuula or fish god which had at its base offerings of fish placed there by fishermen after a catch. This is a survival of sacrificial worship.

I have seen in England, on the first of May, men dancing covered with a frame of greens and flowers. It was a survival of the pagan festival in honor of Maia the mother of Mercury when the Sun enters Gemini and the plants of the earth are growing.

Hardy in "The Return of the Native," Harper's Edition, page 479, writes of May-day: "Indeed the impulses of all

such outlandish hamlets are pagan still . . . fragments of Teutonic rites to divinities whose names are forgotten, seem in some way to have survived."

As to kahunaism, John Wesley believed in witches, as did most men in his day. In every country of Europe the belief in witchcraft lingers, as does also belief in fairies.

It need not surprise us, therefore, if remains of paganism still exist in Hawaii, when it is only one hundred years since the idols were destroyed, while relics of paganism are to be found among peoples supposed to be Christianized centuries ago.

The truth is, as some wise man has said: "Christianity is not a failure, it has really never been tried." With all our boasted civilization it has never expelled wholly from the heart the fear of mysterious evil influences, yet, "perfect love casteth out fear." The trouble is that men generally love and trust most imperfectly.

CHAPTER XII

THE MISSIONARIES AND LAND.

It is a common thing even in this day to hear from people words to the effect that the missionaries were land grabbers. It is intimated that they obtained lands from the Hawaiians by methods which merit censure. Visitors frequently get a wrong impression on this matter from those ignorant of the facts and who, seemingly, do not care to learn the truth.

As an instance, one who was here in a yacht a few years ago wrote that "the missionaries had enriched themselves and their descendants by dispossessing the native of his land."

I frequently hear from tourists today, educated men and women, many of them in high position, such expressions as: "What a shame it is that the missionaries took all the land from the Hawaiians."

Let us have the facts. The sons of the old missionaries shrink somewhat from defending themselves, but, as I am not a "missionary" nor the son of one, and as I do not own a single share in any plantation, and as my income is not derived from Hawaiian sources, I can write with an unbiased mind with the sole desire to let the truth be known.

Some of the errors into which strangers fall, are due to the fact that they are unaware that the term "missionary" as generally used now by Hawaiians does not mean the men sent out by the American Board nor their descendants. The term as used by them includes all who were concerned in the overthrow of the monarchy and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States, and those who were or are in sympathy with the ideals of the missionaries. This misunderstanding has led many, not correctly informed, to have erroneous views in regard to those who possess lands in Hawaii today or who are largely interested in plantations.

Originally the theory was that all the land belonged to the King. In 1809 when Kamehameha was King of all the Islands, except Kauai, he apportioned lands among his followers according to their rank, or for service rendered. This was done on the feudal system of proportionate military service. He ordered, however, that in the future the heirs of the chiefs should hold the estates with the consent of the King or Governor. There was no fee simple holding.

The common people did not own land but rented it from the chiefs, paying rent for it in produce or service. The people were not tied to the soil but could leave the land held by a chief and take up service with another.

As time passed dissatisfaction arose in regard to the tenure of land, and a movement began advocating that it be held in fee simple instead of possessing a life interest only. In 1848 Kamehameha III appointed a committee to prepare a plan for the division of the lands, of which Dr. Judd was chairman. After the committee had reported, the commission which appropriated the lands had no missionary among its members. John Ricord and W. L. Lee, lawyers, were prominent in this work.

The partition was effected by granting to the chiefs certain parts, the King to have the remainder. One-half of the King's land was to be his private estate, and to be known as crown lands and the other, government lands.

In 1850 most of the chiefs gave up a third of their lands in order to obtain an absolute title to the remainder.

The common people received fee simple titles for their house lots and the plots of land which they actually cultivated, and these were called kuleanas. In my judgment it would have been wise if the law had forbidden the owners to mortgage or sell their kuleanas.

Aliens were not permitted to own lands until 1850. In that year certain missionaries made application to the Hawaiian Government for permission to purchase lands and

the matter was referred to a committee of the Privy Council consisting of R. C. Wyllie and Keoni Ana. The report made by this committee was laid before the Hawaiian Legislature in June, 1851. It went into the subject at length and stated that: "The missionaries who have received and applied for lands have neither received nor applied for them without offering what they considered a fair compensation for them. So far as their applications have been granted, your majesty's government have dealt with them precisely as they have dealt with other applicants for land.

"It will not be contended that missionaries, because they are missionaries, have not the same right to buy land in the same quantities and at the same prices as those who are not missionaries.

"But, besides what is strictly due to them, in justice and in gratitude for large benefits conferred by them on your people, every consideration of sound policy, under the rapid decrease of the native population, is in favor of holding out inducements for them not to withdraw their children from these islands.

"As early as 1847, a resolution had been proposed in the Privy Council, recommending that a formal resolution should be passed, declaring the gratitude of the nation to the missionaries for the services they had performed, and making some provision for their children."

At that time the Rev. W. Richards, then a member of the Council, had objected, as he was opposed to the missionaries being accused of seeking worldly interests. As Mr. Richards was now dead (1851), the members of the committee, without ever having been approached by any one connected with the mission, and the signers of the report having never had any connection with the missionaries, declared that: "the services of these men in the cause of religion and education should be acknowledged in a substantial way, and openly and publicly declared.

"In view of the service of all Christian missionaries as eminent benefactors of the Hawaiian Nation the Committee recommended that as a bare acknowledgment of these services every individual missionary, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, who had served eight years in Hawaii, who did not already hold five hundred and sixty acres of land, be allowed to purchase that amount at a reduction of fifty cents an acre from the price which could be obtained from lay purchasers." The report was signed R. C. Wyllie and Keoni Ana.

The Polynesian of May 7, 1852, gives a list of men, missionary and others, who had bought land under the new law. Eleven laymen (including Charles R. Bishop and W. Goodale) had purchased a total of 4,311 acres or 391 acres per man, the price varying from 66 cents to $5.00 an acre, or an average of $1.45 per acre. Goodale paid a large price for a specially good piece, and if we deduct what he paid for 500 acres, the cost averages 99½ cents an acre.

Ten missionaries had bought 3655 acres, an average of 365 for each man, for which they paid an average of 56 cents an acre. The names include W. P. Alexander, D. Baldwin, E. Bond, F. W. Clark, E. Dole, J. S. Emerson, J. S. Green, P. J. Gulick, H. R. Hitchcock, E. Johnson.

When the sugar industry received its impetus, due to the reciprocity treaty with the United States in 1875, foreigners bought or leased large areas of land for the cultivation of cane.

Many of the sons of the missionaries had returned from the States. They were intelligent, educated, industrious and energetic men and they took advantage of the opportunities open to them. Some of them by degrees acquired control of large holdings and did so in the open market. But the idea that these men obtained the land in any way different from that acquired by other foreigners is false.

For years most of the men in starting plantations had a

hard struggle to keep afloat. It was only by persistent courage and hard work that they attained ultimate success.

But the idea so often presented that the men of missionary ancestry born in the Islands acquired all the available land is not true.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop inherited immense holdings which came to her from the descendants of the Kamehamehas through different lines. Her lands situated on several islands were placed in a trust which is administered for the education of those of Hawaiian blood and for the maintenance of the Bishop Museum.

Then there is the Queen Emma Estate, the income of which is largely used for the Queen's Hospital.

There is the Parker ranch, including the Kahuku ranch, the heir to which is a youth of Hawaiian blood. The total holdings are some 500,000 acres, equal to the area of the Island of Oahu.

There is the John Ii Estate, the heirs of which are Hawaiians, and the Campbell Estate, including a large part of the Ewa Plantation, the income of which goes to Hawaiians, as does that of the James Woods Estate.

Foreigners acquired, by lease, purchase or foreclosure of mortgages, much land as time went on. These holdings were largely used for pasturage. In 1863 the American Board of Missions, in withdrawing from the Islands, coöperated with the Government in securing fee simple titles to the property held by the Board which consisted of house lots and some land.

Such foreigners, not missionaries, as acquired control of large tracts of land held by their descendants today, were men like Henry Greenwell on Hawaii; Gay and Robinson, who bought the Island of Niihau and lands on Kauai; the McBrydes, and Makee and Spalding whose interests are on Kauai; the Ulapalakua ranch on Maui was originally the property of Captain Makee. Theo. H. Davies, and those

associated with him, by lease or purchase, had large holdings at Waikea, Papaaloa, and Paauilo, the land at the last named place having been originally the property of the Englishman, Thomas Notley, who married a Hawaiian. Dr. James Wight, R. R. Hind, Judge Hart and James Woods had large possessions in the Kohala district. Then there were the Spreckels interests and those of W. G. Irwin, John Scott, Alexander Young, Col. Norris, Paul Isenburg, Walter Murray Gibson, who bought the Island of Lanai, John Maguire and many others who had no blood relation with the missionaries. Their total holdings at one time and another comprise a very large part of the tillable and pasturable lands of the Islands.

The plantations controlled by the sons of missionaries are stock companies and the stock is widely distributed among men and women in the Islands and elsewhere. The stock being usually $20 a share encourages distribution. Some of these plantations pay large rentals to Hawaiians for leased lands.

Of the five large firms of Sugar Factors, three at first had no connection with the sons of the missionaries, though some of them in later years purchased interests in them. Brewer and Co., founded in 1826, was not missionary, Theo. H. Davies and Co. was controlled by Englishmen, Hackfeld and Co. was a German concern.

S. N. Castle and C. M. Cooke were in charge of the secular affairs of the mission. When a change was made in 1851, they went into the mercantile business as a private venture. Neither of them were ordained men.

Alexander and Baldwin was organized by sons of missionaries.

If some of the descendants of the missionaries have acquired riches they have deserved it. In their use of it and in their large benevolences they have shown a spirit which came, perhaps, in part from their life in Hawaii and their

During her troubles Bishop Willis was a frequent visitor to Queen Liliuokalani. She told me several times in conversation during my calls upon her after 1902, that Bishop Willis had been a great comfort to her and had made the Christian religion more real to her than it ever was before, by his talks and instructions. Among the few books which she took with her to the Palace, where she was a prisoner, was a Hawaiian Prayer Book which she used constantly.

On May 18, 1896, he administered hypothetical baptism to the Queen in St. Andrew's Cathedral in the presence of a few people, among whom was the Dowager Queen Kapiolani.

The Bishop states for information that hypothetical baptism is not a repetition of the sacrament, but in cases where a baptism can not be found in any register, and where the certainty of a baptism can not be ascertained, then the Prayer Book makes provision for it by providing a form which reads: "If thou art not baptized, then I baptize thee, etc."

The Queen was confirmed immediately after the hypothetical baptism. She was a regular attendant at Church and Holy Communion as long as her health permitted and accepted the transfer of the Church to American jurisdiction calmly and received the American Bishop cordially.

One night the Queen took refuge in the Priory, as Queen Emma had done on one occasion.

CHAPTER XX

ANNEXATION AND THE STATUS OF THE CHURCH.

When in 1898 Annexation was an accomplished fact, Bishop Willis had to think seriously how the Church would be affected. In the October number of the Diocesan Magazine he has a letter on the subject. He says that Annexation does not of itself affect the status of the Church. Until the General Convention of the Church in the United States expresses its desire in regard to its jurisdiction in Hawaii, its relation to the See of Canterbury would remain unchanged.

He reminds the people that in consequence of the inability of the Church in the United States to start a Mission here, the Church of England at the request of American Bishops undertook the work. A joint mission was the idea in their mind, but after a short trial it was not found practicable. The See of Honolulu was founded as an independent Diocese in communion with the Churches of England and America. Its work in Hawaii of thirty-six years gave the assurance that nothing would be done to break its continuity. If any action is taken by the General Convention it will be in the direction of supporting it and strengthening it. The Lambeth Conference of 1867 had passed resolutions that a Missionary Bishop must ask to be received in the province which he wishes to join.

Having been asked whether he intended to make such request he stated that the financial question must first be settled and an agreement arrived at between the authorities in England and the Bishops in the United States for the transfer and maintenance of the Diocese of Honolulu.

As to the Prayer Book, the English one would be used with necessary changes until the Diocese of Honolulu was received into the organization of the American Church. If

any American Churchmen desired to erect a Church and use the American Prayer Book he would be glad to meet their wishes.

In the General Convention of 1898 the report of the Committee, to which the matter of Hawaii had been referred, was to the effect that it was not expedient at this time to interfere with the existing status, and the consideration of spiritual jurisdiction should be postponed until conference should be had with the authorities of the Church of England.

I was a delegate to that Convention and I remember the Rev. Mr. Usborne making an effort to obtain permission to address the House. A resolution was passed that it was not advisable for the House to listen to Mr. Usborne.

In April, 1899, the Magazine stated that the transfer of jurisdiction was in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, from whom the Bishops of Honolulu had received mission and jurisdiction.

In July, 1899, the Diocesan Magazine gave the report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. This Society had from the first aided the mission in Honolulu. The report stated that the Society would be in no hurry to make any changes which would cause inconvenience, but it would be against all precedent to maintain work in Honolulu, which was now in the United States.

Knowing the decision of the S. P. G. would fall hard upon Honolulu, Bishop Willis argued that the relations of the Island Church with England should remain unimpaired until the American Church relieved her of her obligations.

There was talk in some quarters about making Hawaii a part of the Diocese of California, though far from the sentiment of that Diocese itself, but to this the Bishop strenuously objected. He said that if the American House of Bishops thinks it desirable to make a new appointment for Honolulu of one who will carry on and expand the work, no one would rejoice more than he, but if the suggestion was

made that no successor would be consecrated, he would not for a moment entertain the idea of resigning. He had placed his tenure of oversight of the mission in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, so that it might cease as soon as, but not until, the House of Bishops was ready to consecrate a successor.

He was anxious that the change should work no injury to the Church in Hawaii and called upon all to maintain and strengthen it until the change was brought about.

In November, 1899, at the Diocesan Synod, attended by seven of the clergy and eleven of the laity, a resolution was passed to the effect that the Hawaiian Islands, being now annexed by the United States, the Synod expresses its general agreement with the report of the Committee to the General Convention that the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church in Hawaii should come under the Church in the United States and puts on record its readiness to take such steps as are necessary for bringing the Anglican Church in Hawaii into union with the Church in the United States whenever invited to do so, it being made clear at the same time that the interests of the Church in Hawaii be duly and sufficiently safeguarded, and the aid for the support of the Bishop and clergy now received from England be continued by the Church in the United States.

At the Bishop's suggestion, in order to bring the Church in Hawaii into some likeness to that in the United States, statutes were passed providing for a Standing Committee and a Board of Missions. The Standing Committee appointed consisted of the Rev. E. J. H. VanDeerlin, the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, Lieut. Commander Pond, U. S. N., and Henry Smith.

In May, 1900, the Bishop received notice from the S. P. G. that after June 30 the Society would cease to give aid to the Church in Hawaii. In reply he wrote a long letter reviewing the whole situation and showing that great

harm would follow this decision. Yet he trusted that help would come to enable him to maintain the work until the change in jurisdiction was made.

It appears that the action of the S. P. G. was due to a misapprehension. The Society supposed that the Church in the United States could at once assume responsible charge of the Diocese of Honolulu. Under the Canons it was impossible to do this.

In January, 1901, Bishop Willis in a long and able article defends his position that by annexation the Diocese of Honolulu did not come under the Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, as some contended. This being the case, the drastic action of the S. P. G. was not just.

An emergency fund was started in order that money should be raised to tide over the time, until the transfer of the Church was consummated. Subscribers to this fund were found in England and in the United States. The Chinese merchants of Honolulu, mostly non-Christian, subscribed liberally to aid the Chinese work, giving $670.

In October, 1901, the General Convention met in San Francisco. Bishop Willis, accompanied by Canon William Ault as his Chaplain, was present. When the matter of the Hawaiian Church came before the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies it was referred to the Committee on the Admission of New Dioceses. For four General Conventions I had been a member of that Committee and, as such, heard the discussion on the subject and also heard what individuals who had been in Honolulu had to say. After due consideration the Committee reported that as the Diocese of Honolulu was not a Missionary Jurisdiction of this Church applying for admission as a Diocese, and was not a Diocese of this Church seeking to be divided, the question was not such as they were competent to consider.

The House of Bishops dealt with the subject by declaring that an agreement had been reached by the authorities in

England and that the Diocese of Honolulu should be constituted a Missionary District of this Church.

In consultation with Bishop Willis, and after the subscription by members of the House of one thousand dollars, which Bishop Willis named as a sum to help him meet liabilities accruing to that date, it was promptly agreed upon to set April 1, 1902, as the date for the formal transfer.

Bishop Willis having duly resigned to the Archbishop of Canterbury, all this was with unanimity adjusted with the Committee of the House of Bishops, consisting of Bishops Whittaker, Nichols and Capers, and in the resolutions presented by the Committee, and adopted by the House of Bishops, it was voted that this House extends to him a loving welcome to an honorary seat whenever it may be in his power to attend its sessions.

On his return from San Francisco, the Bishop called a meeting of the Synod, which held sessions December 2-11, 1901. A resolution was adopted accepting the doctrine, discipline and worship of the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

In view of the action of the House of Bishops constituting the Church in Hawaii a Missionary District, the Synod resolved that the Trustees of the Anglican Church in Hawaii apply to the civil authorities for its approval of certain amendments in its Charter of Incorporation. This was accomplished on January 15, 1902, and the corporation which was at first The Reformed Catholic Church, then the Anglican Church in Hawaii, became The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands. It was the same Church under different names. Corporate names could not change its being an integral part of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, belief in which is professed in the Nicene Creed.

The Synod recommended that the Church in the United States should purchase the property of Bishop Willis on

which was situated his residence and the buildings of Iolani School. This purchase was never made. An address was presented to Bishop Willis in which was mentioned particularly his work in the building of the Cathedral, the conduct of Iolani School, and the work of Mrs. Willis in establishing the Victoria Hospital at the time of the plague, which later became the hospital for incurables. (This grew into what is now the Leahi Home, chiefly used for tuberculous patients.)

It also mentioned the Bishop's work in connection with the provision of a hymnal in Hawaiian and pamphlets on the catechism and the Holy Communion. He had also organized the Church on the principles laid down by the Lambeth Conference with a synodical government.

In reply the Bishop thanked the Synod, saying that its action had established a precedent in providing that the temporalities of the Anglican Church in Hawaii by the change of the Charter became the property of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands. Since in the Cathedral Statutes provision was made for the office of Dean, he proposed to hand over to the Corporation the title of a piece of land which he possessed, which had a rental of $75 a year, as the beginning of an endowment. He hoped to consecrate the Cathedral as far as it was built before he left Honolulu.

The General Convention in October, 1901, had constituted the Hawaiian Islands a Missionary Jurisdiction of the American Church under the name of the Missionary District of Honolulu. The Synod of the Anglican Church in Hawaii in December declared its adherence to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church in the United States and the corporate title went into effect on January 15, 1902. This is important to note because when the Bishop of California, acting for the Presiding Bishop, received the Church in

Hawaii, he based his decisions as to his acts on what was accomplished on that date.

In the last issue of the Diocesan Magazine is chronicled the consecration of that portion of the Cathedral which was built. Before the date set, the choir and sanctuary were arranged as they now remain (1924) except that the stone altar was not in place until 1907. On March 9, the consecration was made the occasion of an elaborate function. The Bishop had appointed the Rev. V. H. Kitcat as Dean and he, with five other priests, was in the procession. This was said to have been the finest service ever held in the Cathedral up to that time. There was still a debt of $1700 for the construction of the Cathedral, so that the consecration, under American Church law, was not allowable. The Canon reads: "No Church shall be consecrated until . . . it is fully paid for."

Towards the end of April, the Bishop of California, the Right Rev. William Ford Nichols, arrived in Honolulu and arrangements were made for the service at which he represented the Presiding Bishop in the taking over of the Hawaiian Church. It was a delicate task with many difficulties, requiring wisdom and decision. On April 1, the day set by the General Convention, this interesting ceremony took place. There were present, Bishops Nichols and Willis and the Rev. Messrs. Kitcat, Ault, Weymouth, Kong Yin Tet and Fitz. At the close of the service Bishop Willis called upon the Registrar, Edmund Stiles, to read his formal surrender of the Jurisdiction. Then Bishop Willis stated the steps which had been taken to this end, which have already been enumerated.

When he took his seat, the commission of Bishop Nichols from the Presiding Bishop having been read, he addressed Bishop Willis and declared that he had formally received the transfer of jurisdiction and property from the Diocese of Honolulu to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United

States of America. Further, he declared that according to instructions of the Presiding Bishop he assumed authority and jurisdiction as Bishop in charge, until such time as a Bishop should be elected and consecrated.

He spoke to the congregation of the unprecedented character of the ceremony of transfer of a Diocese of a sister Church, to the Church in the United States and reviewed briefly the history of the Anglican Church in Hawaii and of the note of tenderness which must accompany the relinquishment of the oversight by Bishop Willis which had lasted thirty years. "But if earthly changes occur, there is no transfer of jurisdiction in that Chief Bishopric of souls in Jesus Christ."

When Bishop Nichols returned to the sanctuary he found that Bishop Willis had vacated the seat nearest the altar, a silent acknowledgment that a new order had come to the Church in Hawaii.

On the following Sunday Bishop Nichols preached and then said that he had found that in the matter of changing the jurisdiction there had been a transition period. This will be only understood if what he read is here given.

Missionary District of Honolulu
St. Andrew's Cathedral,
April 6, 1902.

The signing by the civil authority of the revised charter on the fifteenth day of January, 1902, having given effect to that charter, and in accordance with its terms, having on that date empowered the corporation of "The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands" to hold its property for the purpose and use of establishing and maintaining a branch of the Church now known as The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, under and in accordance with the Constitution and Canons, Rules and Regulations and Discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and subject to the

authority of the General Convention of the same, a "modus vivendi" became necessary until de facto as well as de jure the said Protestant Episcopal Church could assume jurisdiction for use as aforesaid in accordance with the terms of transfer on the first day of April, 1902.

Such modus vivendi existed from the fifteenth day of January, the date when the charter took effect as before mentioned, and the first day of April, 1902, the date when the Church became competent to exercise the use of said property. Such modus vivendi, having accordingly given place to the permanent and competent jurisdiction of said Church on the first day of April, 1902, left the use and administration of the said property at the status it held on the date when the said use was, by the charter's taking effect as aforesaid, vested in the Protestant Episcopal Church, that is to say, on the fifteenth of January, 1902.

Beginning with that status, this is to announce that changes have been made in accordance with the provisions of the statutes of the Cathedral Church of Honolulu, leaving the list of officials of St. Andrew's Cathedral as follows:

Bishop, the Rt. Rev. W. F. Nichols, D.D.

Dean, the Rt. Rev. W. F. Nichols, D.D.

Canons (named alphabetically), the Rev. William Ault, the Rev. V. H. Kitcat, the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, the Rev. A. B. Weymouth, M. D., Sacrist, the Rev. F. Fitz, Organist, Mr. Wray Taylor. (Mr. Wray Taylor had been organist formerly of both congregations.)

Here followed the order of services and the officiants at the same and the naming of a Finance Committee.

The ruling of Bishop Nichols was a momentous one. It meant that Bishop Willis, by virtue of his being a Bishop of the Church of England, it was ultra vires for him to act as a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his canonical jurisdiction over the properties of that Church ceased when the Anglican Church in Hawaii became the

Protestant Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands on January 15.

From that date to April 1, of necessity continuance of the See followed, and Bishop Willis, as a Bishop, furnished its modus vivendi. In the interest of such modus vivendi he was considered as having appointed the Rev. V. H. Kitcat, Dean, and other officials.

Bishop Nichols, it will be observed, did not mention any past differences, he took no notice of any Cathedral Congregation or Second Congregation, both Mr. Kitcat and Mr. Mackintosh (formerly over these congregations) he made Canons, who should alternate in officiating under the Bishop as Dean. On the Finance Committee he named four men, W. R. Castle, Jr., George F. Davies, Henry Smith and Edmund Stiles, two from each of the former congregations. Provisional arrangements were made also for fitting the See into its new canonical relations, receiving the clergy by due process, licensing Lay Readers, providing provisional organization of St. Clement's parish, financing the Cathedral, etc., all made provisional, pending the selection of a Constitution and Canons by the permanent Bishop of the See when chosen.

Bishop Willis was disturbed, as he had thought he had settled matters generally, and particularly those pertaining to the Cathedral, to his own satisfaction. Bishop Nichols, of course, recognized the Confirmations since January 15 as valid, but his appointments were subject to the status of the modus vivendi as above.

This action of Bishop Nichols was an exceedingly wise one. If he had recognized Mr. Kitcat as Dean, the old trouble would have continued. He provided for one English speaking congregation, and placed those who had ministered to the two congregations as joint ministers at the Cathedral under the Dean. He also provided for Hawaiian services as follows: Holy Communion once a month at 6 a. m., and

Morning Prayer every Sunday at 9 a. m. to be conducted by clergy appointed by the Dean.

Bishop Willis was astonished, but took no action at that time. He did consult a lawyer and, when he reached Tonga, and Bishop Restarick was in charge, he wrote him and claimed that Mr. Kitcat was Dean and requested Bishop Restarick's acknowledgment of him as such. In reply Bishop Restarick wrote that he had no power to revise the acts of Bishop Nichols, and if any complaint was to be made it should be addressed to the Presiding Bishop. At the same time he advised that since all was now peace and harmony and the people getting to work, it would be most unfortunate to revive questions which had been settled to the satisfaction of people generally.

The Rev. Mr. Kitcat was disturbed by letters which he received from Bishop Willis about the matter and came to Bishop Restarick stating that in order to satisfy Bishop Willis and stay the legal proceedings which he contemplated, if Bishop Restarick would recognize him (Mr. Kitcat) as Dean, he would immediately resign the office and thus clear the situation.

Bishop Restarick replied that to do as Mr. Kitcat suggested would be to declare that Bishop Nichols was wrong in his decision, and that he certainly would not do. Having nothing to do with ancient frictions, he had received the Church as Bishop Nichols had ordered it with the appointments which he had made.

Bishop Willis was advised by friends in Honolulu not to take the step he had contemplated, and so the matter ended.

It may be well stated here that Mr. Kitcat had always held the respect, confidence and high regard of both factions. He was a man of peace, a Christian gentleman, who had the interests of the Church at heart. He gave loyal and hearty support to the American Bishop, whose affection and confidence he had merited and received.

The preceding account of the transfer of the Church was submitted to Bishop Nichols. He suggested a few explanatory changes in the original draft which I was glad to adopt. He wrote me: "I am glad that you are writing out the matter in full, as it will be an important contribution to our American Church annals. The dear, old Bishop (Willis), for our relations really became affectionate, seemed never to be able to realize that after the temporalities of the Anglican Church in Hawaii, by the change of charter, became the property of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands on January 15, 1902, something had happened to the jurisdiction over it, and that a Bishop of the Church of England, as such, could no more canonically and radically deal with this administration, than the Bishop of California, a Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, could have done before the change of title, and while it was under the jurisdiction of a Church of England Bishop. I think if he had clearly realized that caveat he would have appreciated the modus vivendi status until a Protestant Episcopal Bishop could on April 1, 1902, canonically take hold on the principle that in such an interim something must be done."

Bishop Nichols well bore the reputation of being a Church statesman. He never showed the quality in greater degree than in handling the difficult situation in Hawaii.

In 1923 Bishop Nichols in his book, "Days of My Age," page 247, wrote of Bishop Willis: "I may say that . . . in rigidity to his convictions, his spirit of missionary self sacrifice, his manifest Christian resignation to the relinquishment of a See to which he had given a rounded thirty years of his life, Bishop Willis left a permanent impression upon me that led to a friendship unbroken and valued to the end of his life. His acceptance of the work in far off Tonga and devotion to its new folk, with activity notable for his advanced years, suggest that crown lustrous in any work for him that is faithful in that which is

least, out of all failures to see eye to eye, which seems inseparable from our human Diocesan dealings."

After eighteen years of difficult and discouraging work in Tonga Bishop Willis died in London, when on a visit to England, on November 14, 1920, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

THE SEAMEN'S INSTITUTE.

During the stay of Bishop Nichols in Honolulu he took steps to form a branch of the Church Mission to Seamen. The first offering towards this was made at a private communion service held at the Queen's Hospital with Mrs. Sebree (wife of Admiral Sebree), who had been a fellow passenger with the Bishop, and had sustained an injury on the ship.

T. Clive Davies and others became interested and soon a superintendent was secured. F. W. Everton, a man trained for the work, came and began in rented quarters which were soon outgrown. As it developed, arrangements were made to lease at a nominal rental a commodious building previously used as a Sailors' Home. Here a large and important work has been carried on among sailors.

There are sleeping quarters for thirty men, rooms for writing, amusements, etc. Provision is made for the temporary care of money deposits for the convenience of the men. Formerly a large room was fitted up as a chapel in which services were held each Sunday evening and there was a celebration of the Holy Communion once a month. Latterly, due to crowded conditions, the chapel has been used as a reading room but services are held regularly in the main room. Since Mr. Everton left the Institute has been under the efficient management of Chas. F. Mant.

Among those who have been on the Board of Managers are, T. Clive Davies, L. T. Peck, B. F. Marx, H. W. M. Mist and Ed Towse.

CHAPTER XXI

CHURCH SCHOOLS DURING THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP WILLIS. THE PRIORY, AND IOLANI.

The Sisters' schools, at Lahaina and Honolulu, went on quietly with their work after the arrival of Bishop Willis. In January, 1873, he visited St. Cross School, and spent an afternoon examining the girls on various subjects. He expressed himself as much pleased, saying that the aim was "not merely to impart knowledge of the head, nor to inculcate a few moral precepts, but to instruct them in the principles of religion. Knowledge is a dangerous power in the hands of those whose moral sense has not been trained to distinguish good and evil. St. Cross and St. Andrew's Priory educate girls in the true sense of the term, not that they may secure material advantages merely, but that their souls may know God and walk in His Light." As the Priory grew, more teachers were needed and as the Sisters had heretofore done all the teaching it was thought best to consolidate the work, so the school at Lahaina was closed and Sisters Phoebe and Mary Clara moved to Honolulu.

As time passed the Sisters became virtual and often actual guardians of the persons of girls, and sometimes of their property also. A number of them knew no other home and grew to womanhood there. It has always been a rule at the Priory that no girl is allowed to remain over night with any one except a parent or some approved relation. Some girls were admitted on condition that they did not go home during vacation.

An Englishman who visited Hawaii about this time wrote to a home paper an account of the Priory. After inspecting the buildings and grounds he was shown around by Eldress Phoebe. He wrote: "Peace and purity and cleanliness

reigned over all. The good Sisters evidently take pride as well as pleasure in their work. It is a little slice of Paradise in this naughty world. There is no doubt that the most difficult lesson for the South Sea Islander to learn is moral purity. The moral value of a school like that conducted by the Sisters must be invaluable."

It was the character of the Priory that won for it the high estimation in which it has ever been held by the people of Hawaii. Whether mothers were well behaved or not they were anxious that their daughters should be brought up to be pure minded and capable of self control.

Not being under the Bishop's management he seldom mentions the Priory in his magazine, but it continued its work successfully throughout his episcopate. While always pleasant socially he had really little to do with the school and seldom visited it.

Sister Bertha, who came out to Lahaina in 1865, was recalled to England in 1877 to become Mother Superior of the Society, which office had been made vacant by the death of Miss Sellon. As Superior she displayed the same sound judgment combined with gentleness and firmness which had done much to give the Priory the position it held. She departed this life on September 15, 1890, at Ascot Priory, England.

In 1887 Sister Phoebe was appointed Eldress of the Priory, retaining this position until she entered into Rest on October 11, 1890, in her seventieth year, after a life of unceasing service to the sick and to the little ones of Christ's flock. She had been among the first to join the sisterhood in 1848 and both she and Sister Bertha were skilled nurses. She was buried in the Nuuanu cemetery in a portion which had been set aside for the Anglican Church.

About 1890 the Society of the Holy Trinity suffered great financial losses, and as a consequence the remaining Sisters were ordered to give up the work in Honolulu and return

THE OLD PRIORY COURT
Ascension Day service.

home. They replied that they considered this impossible as they had many girls committed to their charge and these could not be deserted. They offered to relinquish all aid from the Society and to manage its affairs themselves if they were given permission to remain. Their request was granted and from that time the Sisters conducted the school on their own responsibility. Their principle was to refuse no girl who really needed their care, and some had claims upon them through their parentage, and this irrespective of their ability to pay.

Under the will of Queen Emma the Priory has received from the time of her death in 1885 the sum of $600.00 a year, for the tuition and board of four Hawaiian girls. Later, under the Charles R. Bishop Trust the school has received $300.00 a year as part-scholarship of four girls.

When the Sisters needed the aid of teachers they found good women who, for small remuneration, were willing to give their services. So they struggled along until 1902 when the American Church took over the work. They then decided to retire and asked to be relieved when the new American Bishop arrived. After thirty-five years of incessant toil they retired to a cottage on the school grounds where they were permitted to enjoy a well earned rest for many years.

ST. ALBAN'S AND IOLANI.

Bishop Willis arrived in Honolulu on June 30, 1872, and the next day he visited St. Alban's, which he called Iolani College. The late Pierre Jones told me that on a visit to the school, Kamehameha V gave it that name. This word was used at times to designate Kamehameha II. Its meaning is somewhat obscure. Literally it would mean the heavenly bird, but old Hawaiians have told me that it conveyed to them the idea of height. As a bird flies above the earth, so the King was above all the chiefs.

The occasion of the Bishop's visit was the closing exercises of the College. This title was then given to institu-

ST. ALBAN'S COLLEGE, 1863
Near entrance to Pauoa Valley

tions which had a course of instruction corresponding to a high school. He expressed himself as greatly pleased with "the performance of the boys of selections from Shakespeare," making special mention of their pronunciation of English. Archdeacon Mason had brought his school from Lahaina and the Bishop praised him for the training he had given the boys.

In September the Bishop announced that he had purchased land in Nuuanu Valley (on what is now Bates Street), and that as the school buildings in Pauoa Valley were on leased ground, he would at once move them on to his own property. Archdeacon Mason he said had carried on the school under the disadvantage of having no home of its own, and with great self denial and hard work. The school was now to be under the immediate supervision of the Bishop, the daily routine to be carried on by Mr. F. Blunden and Mr. J. G. Trembeth, who had taught in a school of 200 boys in the Bishop's parish in England. These teachers were expected to arrive in a short time. Iolani was to be a boarding and day school for Hawaiians and part white boys, the aim being to give a sound English education, at the same time training them in habits of industry and order.

This movement did not close St. Alban's which was now intended for white boys. Archdeacon Mason left Honolulu early in 1873, leaving a deep impression with many young men. Mr. Turner now became principal, and next year was succeeded by Alatau T. Atkinson, who had come from England in 1869 and had been a teacher in the school since that time.

In May, 1874, Pierre Jones opened St. Andrew's Grammar School in the Cathedral Close, but in July it united with St. Alban's and that institution was then carried on under the joint management of Messrs. Atkinson and Jones.

In June, 1875, St. Alban's held its annual speech day, and among those who took part were many who became well

known in the Islands. The names given are A. and W. McBryde, H. Wodehouse, George Renton, J. Dowsett, W. Berrill, C. Carter, L. Grieve, H. Renton, C. Lewers, T. Afong, H. Auld.

W. L. Green, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave away the prizes. Among Archdeacon Mason's pupils were Curtis P. Iaukea, who became Court Chamberlain and envoy to London and St. Petersburg, etc., also, Oscar P. Cox, now U. S. Marshal.

In 1887 A. T. Atkinson was still principal, and when, shortly afterwards, St. Alban's was discontinued, he entered the employ of the Government, taking charge of what later became the Normal School in a building on the corner of Fort and School Streets, where there is now a children's playground. Later, Mr. Atkinson became Superintendent of Public Instruction.

To go back to Iolani, in which Bishop Willis was deeply interested, and to which he gave freely of his time and his money. Living on the school premises, he was in close contact with the boys, over whom he had a great influence for good. He had in mind to supply the choir with Iolani boys, and had a Chorister's Scholarship Fund supported by friends in England, which enabled him to offer reduced payment to those with good voices. Some of the laymen were complaining about the music at the Cathedral at this time.

The first master was W. A. Swan, who left in 1874 to attend St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. In September of the same year, Abel Clark, a former parishioner of Bishop Willis, arrived to teach at Iolani, of which he soon became master. On St. Andrew's Day a party was given at the school, at which the Prince Regent, Queen Kapiolani and Princess Likelike were present. The boys sang and Mr. Trembeth gave a magic lantern exhibition. On December 22, on Prize Day, the school had many visitors, among whom were, Queen Emma and Princess Likelike, the captains

and officers of the U. S. S. Tuscarora and of H. M. S. Tenedos and Reindeer, Captain and Mrs. Mist, Mr. and Mrs. Theo. H. Davies and E. O. Hall. Hose Testa received a prize for general proficiency and another for Holy Scripture. Prizes were also given to David Piikoi (later Prince David). Prince Jonah Kalanianaole attended Iolani later.

In this month the Board of Education adopted a new arrangement in regard to scholarships. Up to this time ten boys had free scholarships paid by the Board, but from now on there were twelve half scholarships granted.

Sun Yat Sen, the Chinese revolutionist, was a pupil at Iolani, having entered in 1880. He was then known as Tai Chu. It is sometimes said he was born in Hawaii, but this is not correct, although his uncle obtained a certificate of Hawaiian birth for him![1] Solomon Meheula, educated at Iolani, was then a teacher and gave him his first instruction in English. It has been stated that he obtained his first ideas of republicanism at Iolani. Bishop Willis, in his Diocesan Magazine of December, 1896, writes: "Nor will any one suppose that he was indoctrinated at Iolani with the love of a republican form of government, much less with the desire of revolutionizing the Celestial Kingdom after the model of the Hawaiian Republic, which was yet unborn."[2]

This youth, while studying medicine in Hong Kong under Dr. Cantlie, embraced Christianity, "the truths of which he had learnt at Iolani, but his heathen relations would not then permit him to be baptized."[2] He entered Iolani in October, 1880, and remained there six years.

While in England in 1895, he was imprisoned at the Chinese Legation in London, the intention being to ship him to China, either as a corpse or for execution there. He was released by the action of the British Government. After his release he wrote a letter to the Times, expressing his gratitude and saying: "Knowing and feeling more keenly than

1 Information given by L. Aseu and other Chinese.
2 Diocesan Magazine, Dec. 1896.

ever what a constitutional government and an enlightened people mean, I am prompted still more actively to pursue the cause of advancement and civilization in my own well beloved but oppressed country."

Years after this, when travelling through China, spreading his doctrine, he was accompanied by a Hawaiian born Chinese who had been educated at Iolani. This man is now living in Honolulu and he tells of the disguises which they assumed, and their many narrow escapes.

The Rev. William A. Swan returned from England in 1881 and again taught at Iolani, becoming Master in 1882. In that year King Kalakaua and many prominent people attended the Annual Exhibition at Iolani. The King was then desirous of sending boys to Europe for education. He was so pleased with a recitation by Matthew M. Makalua that he determined to send him to England. This Hawaiian youth, when prepared, entered King's College and he later studied medicine and practiced his profession at St. Leonard's.

It was during Mr. Swan's time that Harry Mist, T. Clive Davies and Palmer P. Woods were pupils in special subjects at Iolani.

The Honolulu Bulletin, in July, 1891, had an article on Iolani. It said: "Proud as Iolani boys are that so large a percentage of their number hold responsible positions under the Government or in the walks of commerce, . . . they are still more proud that very few black sheep indeed can be credited to their flock."

The Bulletin then tells of the work of the school of which John Bush was then Master, and of the luau which was given, at which seven hogs and one bullock were served up in laulau (small bundles of ti leaves). Messrs. E. H. Hart and Henry Smith were the caterers.

The plan that Iolani should be for Hawaiians had been abandoned when Chinese youth sought admission. On July

19, 1892, at the closing exercises many of the prizes were awarded to Chinese: Wong Ah Fook, Kong Yin Tet, Teu Young, Young Tong, Chang En Kui and W. Ah Heen. Other prize winners were, Sam Manu, Albert Harris, E. P. Hatfield, J. S. Smithies, John Kellett, Edwin Fernandez, Edward Deverill, Percy Deverill, John Anderson, C. F. Jenkins, R. C. Searle, George W. Clark and Alfred Mossman.

The Diocesan Magazine for March, 1895, mentions the excellent testimonials received by old Iolani students for faithful discharge of public service, "as one after another —they are dismissed for not taking up arms against their Queen and country."

In the same month the notice appears that F. C. Paetow was Master of Iolani and J. R. Bush assistant.

In June, 1897, R. J. Fenn was appointed Master. He was a graduate of the London Normal School and was an accomplished musician. Under his management the school had an entertainment on December 23, 1897, at which the "recitations showed a marked advance over the efforts of former years." He left in July, 1898.

During the summer vacations improvements were made in the buildings, and the new term opened on September 15 with the Rev. John Lane as Master and Frank S. Fitz as assistant. Mr. Lane was a man of great promise. He was ordained Priest by Bishop Willis on February 26, 1899, and began services in a rented room at Kalihi soon after his ordination. On October 21 he died after a week's illness from a malignant postule. He was buried in the Nuuanu cemetery near the graves of the Rev. Abel Clark and Sister Phoebe. His loss was deplored, and the Honolulu Cricket Club received permission to place a window to his memory in the Cathedral. The one selected was in the clerestory, next to the central one above the sanctuary.

In February, 1900, Leopold G. Blackman, Associate of St. Nicholas College, Lancing, England, became Master

with F. S. Fitz assistant. The latter became Master in 1901 and was ordained deacon by Bishop Willis.

The school having been conducted on the Bishop's personal property, as the time for his resignation drew near, he was anxious that the American Church should purchase the premises. The Synod of December, 1901, by resolution addressed a communication to the House of Bishops recommending that the three acres of land held by the Bishop, on which his house and the Iolani buildings were situated, be acquired at once as a residence for the American Bishop and for the school. This was not carried out.

In April, 1902, the buildings on Bates Street were vacated, the boarding department closed and the day pupils were housed in the old pro-Cathedral, this arrangement being made by Bishop Nichols, then in charge.

Among those who attended Iolani under Bishop Willis were Edmund Stiles, Thomas Cook and Albion F. Clark, all of whom have rendered faithful service to the Church in the Islands. Many of the Chinese students attained eminence. Among these were: Dr. Lo Chong, graduate of Oxford, for ten years Consul General in London and later at Singapore; S. T. Tyau, M. D., prominent physician connected with St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai; Dr. Philip T. C. Tyau, graduate of St. John's, Shanghai, studied law in England for some years, adviser to the Peking Government, later, Consul General in Cuba; Hon. Lau Kai Ming, at one time Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Kuang Tung, whose brother was a Senior at Iolani in 1924; the Rev. Canon Kong Yin Tet, Priest in charge of St. Peter's Church, Honolulu; the Rev. Woo Yee Bew, assistant at St. Elizabeth's, Honolulu; the Rev. Wai Sang Mark, a Priest in Tonga; the Rev. E. E. Lee of Hong Kong and the Rev. Daniel Wu of San Francisco.

CHAPTER XXII

BISHOP WILLIS—REVIEW OF HIS WORK.

The story of Church work during the episcopate of Bishop Willis will be found under the title of the names of the various places, or of designated subjects of importance, but a general survey is necessary.

The Honolulu Mission at first appealed strongly to Churchmen of a certain type in England, and this interest was advanced by the visit of Queen Emma in 1865. As time passed, many of the original supporters died and reports from discontented people in Honolulu reached England and gifts fell off.

Before Bishop Willis left England in 1872 a Honolulu Committee had been formed to advance the support of the mission. It included among others the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Lichfield, the Marquis of Salisbury, Earl Nelson, A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Alfred Tennyson, Manley Hopkins and fourteen others.

The subscriptions and offertories for 1872, due to a desire to help the new Bishop, amounted to 1439 pounds sterling in addition to 400 pounds granted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which last was continued annually with occasional special gifts for buildings, etc.

In 1873 the gifts through the Committee fell to 1179 pounds. There was a decrease year by year until in 1879 the amount sent was 401 and in 1895 only 179 pounds were received.

In his annual letter to the Committee in 1879 the Bishop writes: "our progress is slow," and that this was true is shown by the fact that he reports a total of only 227 communicants, of whom, 179 were in Honolulu, and of this number 108 were of Hawaiian blood. Four clergymen were at

work in the Islands, of whom two, the Rev. Messrs. Blackburn and Mackintosh were in Honolulu. The Rev. Sidney Wilbur was at Wailuku and the Rev. S. H. Davis at Kealakekua. There were 34 boarders at the Priory and 40 boys at the Bishop's School.

There were several causes for this slow growth or "stagnation" as some called it. The first was the lack of funds, due in part to the distance from England and the lack of activity on the part of the Committee. The romance of the mission had gone and it was hard to arouse an interest. If the Bishop had not been a man of private means he could not have remained with the work. He was constantly advancing his own money for its support.

The second cause was the difficulty of obtaining and keeping workers, whether clerical or lay. Mr. Mackintosh and Mr. Davis were the only ones who stayed on, the others remaining but a few years. Some left for climatic reasons, others because they saw no possible progress and others because of dissension. So it was that a good start would be made, as at Wailuku for example, with regular services, schools and buildings, and then there would be a vacancy and the people would scatter.

A third cause was that the field was fully occupied. There were no avowed heathen, it was true that as the Hawaiian Gazette said: "The condition of the Native Churches is discouraging in the extreme." But the Anglican Church did not reach those who had lapsed. Despite early hopes from the fact that the King and Queen and many alii gave their influence for its advancement, yet, as the Bishop wrote later: "Outside of the immediate retainers of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, the Anglican Church has had very little influence on the native mind. Those who were dissatisfied with congregationalism had been received into the Roman Church with its strong and earnest body of clergy."[1]

[1] Bishop's Letter to the English Committee, 1895.

Many Hawaiians had become Mormons due to the persistent and devoted efforts of their missionaries.

The fourth cause was the continued controversies of the Bishop with influential laymen of the Second Congregation, and the Building Committee, their differences being made public in pamphlets and in the public press. This affected giving in England and in Hawaii and led to a lack of interest and attendance at worship.

At times the Bishop was encouraged and hopeful. In 1880 he reports that the communicants numbered 317 and that there was every prospect of proceeding with the building of the Cathedral. Then, also, there had been a gratifying increase in the number of clergy. F. W. Merrill, a native of Boston, Mass., who had come in 1879 to take charge of Iolani, had been ordained deacon and was at Kaneohe in charge of the Government school and holding services. Abel Clark, teacher at Waialua, had also been ordered deacon, and both of these men's salaries came chiefly from the Government. After the Sisters left Lahaina, Miss Albro conducted a small school for girls in the St. Cross building. The Rev. Charles E. Groser (an American) had the Church and parochial school at Wailuku, the Rev. S. H. Davis was at Kealakekua carrying on the family boarding school, and at Napoopoo, Albert Sala was teaching the public school, Mr. Davis coming to that place to hold service.

Miss Willis, a sister of the Bishop, who had kept house for him, had married in 1881 the Rev. R. Wainwright who was priest in charge at Kapaa, Kauai, on which Island the Bishop had long hoped to gain a footing. He was paid locally. In Honolulu the Rev. W. A. Swan was at Iolani. Altogether there were in the Islands six priests and four deacons.

In 1883 an interesting and important event occurred in the life of Bishop Willis. A letter from Queen Emma to Mrs. Pierre Jones written in April, 1883, tells of a luau, given by her Majesty in honor of Mrs. and Miss Simeon,

who were visiting Honolulu. On this occasion the engagement of the Bishop and Miss Simeon was announced. The ladies sailed for their home in England in May and later the Bishop joined them. The wedding took place in September, and after a tour of the Continent, the newly married pair reached Honolulu towards the end of the year.

Mrs. Willis, as was natural, had a great influence over her husband. She had the monarchical view of the episcopate which was then losing its hold on the English mind. Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford did much to change the prevailing idea of a Bishop from that of a prince to that of a leader and a man among men. Instead of riding about his diocese in a coach and four, he rode about it on horseback or on the railroad. Mrs. Willis's friends say that, in the troubles which beset the Bishop, she supported him in the course he took and if he ever was disposed to give way to the repeated demands of the laity she would remind him that he was the Bishop and, as such, the head and ruler of the Anglican Church in Hawaii.

Mrs. Willis was interested in good works and when the plague visited Honolulu in 1899 she was instrumental in starting a hospital in an old kerosene warehouse, in which she gave personal service.

After the Bishop's return from England, Church affairs again became discouraging. The policy of the Government now was to establish schools in selected places where the teaching would be in the English language and to withdraw aid heretofore given to schools under religious organizations. This led to the cessation of work at several places. But the chief discouragement arose from contentions within the Church between the Bishop and the Cathedral Building Committee and the laymen who desired to organize the Second English Speaking Congregation, as related elsewhere.

In 1885 the Bishop, in his desire to promote a revival of spiritual life in the Church and to further knowledge con-

cerning it, obtained the help of the Rev. G. B. Simeon, a brother of Mrs. Willis. This priest held a mission in the pro-Cathedral, begining on Palm Sunday, March 29. The printed circular announced its purpose and stated: "We want to see the mechanics there and the Hawaiians who understand English."

Mr. Simeon was an extreme man and believed in presenting the "whole Catholic faith," as he understood it. This position limited his influence for good in Honolulu. His mission healed no wounds.

On Christmas Day 1886 the Choir of the Cathedral was used for services and the Bishop looked forward to the building of two bays of the nave.

In 1887 Bishop Willis attended the Lambeth Conference and gave an account of its proceedings in the Synod of 1889.

From year to year the difficulties increased. In 1895, in his report to the London Committee he recounted some of them and yet, in reviewing the circumstances he believes that greater progress could not be expected. He had only four priests and two Chinese deacons in the diocese. Some who came out to teach with a view to taking Holy Orders had later gone into business, others who were ordained did not remain long.[2]

The diocese was in a peculiar position. "Honolulu was the first see outside of Jerusalem which the Church of England had founded outside of the British Empire and Church traditions were wholly absent in the Islands and difficulties about the tenure of Church property had arisen. Pioneer work had been done, particularly in the founding of educational institutions and the seed had been sown and fields were now ripening for the harvest."[3]

In a letter to his friends, the Bishop tells of the overthrow of the monarchy and expresses his royalist sympathies. "Such

2 Report of 1895.
3 Report of 1895.

a period of political ferment was not favorable to Mission work."

In 1897 Bishop Willis sailed for England to attend the Lambeth Conference, going by way of Samoa, Tonga and Australia. He arrived at Apia on Easter Even, April 17, and at 3 p. m. he held the first confirmation by an Anglican Bishop in the Samoan Islands. There were eleven candidates, seven of whom were the children of Englishmen by Samoan wives, and these had been baptized by chaplains of the British Navy. They had been instructed by the British Consul, T. B. Cusack Smith. In the congregation present was a Mr. Todd of the family of that name at Kona, Hawaii. On Easter Day, the Holy Communion was celebrated and twenty received the Blessed Sacrament. In the evening he preached at the Foreign Church. He writes: "The Anglican Church has made it a principle not to interfere with the earnest work of non-conformists, . . . but we can not neglect our own children."

On April 24, he reached Nukualofa, Tonga, where he met the Rev. William Horsfall, who had left Lahaina the year before and was now in charge of the Government College for boys. Four were confirmed, one of whom was a Hawaiian.[4] The Bishop met King George, but he little imagined then that he would go to take charge of work in Tonga in 1902.

In New Zealand he met the Rev. William Calder, who had been stationed formerly at Waialua, Oahu, and in Adelaide he saw the Rev. Messrs. T. Blackburn and W. A. Swan, who had been under him in Honolulu.

This was the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria and the Bishop greatly enjoyed the celebrations of that event and the meetings of the Conference. On his return he was presented with an address of welcome by Henry Smith, Pierre Jones and Solomon Meheula on behalf of the Cathedral (or Bishop's) congregation.

On March 8, 1898, occurred the bicentenary anniversary

4 Diocesan Magazine, June, 1897.

of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and a meeting was held in the Cathedral school room to celebrate the event. The Bishop gave some particulars of Dr. Bray, the founder, and the condition of England at that time. The Rev. V. H. Kitcat enumerated the numerous gifts of the Society to the Church in Hawaii, as follows: $500 to Kona, a like sum to Kohala, $150 to St. Paul's, Makapala, $2,500 to the Cathedral and $300 to St. Peter's Church. In addition, it had provided eight scholarships of $20 each at Makapala and eight of $30 each for Iolani and $300 for the training of two Chinese candidates for Holy Orders. It had also given towards the travelling expenses of missionaries sent to Hawaii, and had printed the Hawaiian Prayer Book on its press. Philip Dodge spoke of the duty and privilege of laymen to spread the Gospel.

The chief address was made by Theo. H. Davies, in which he said that this was the first Society of the Church of England in modern times to preach the Gospel to the poor and to carry it into foreign parts. The impulse given by this Society had led to the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had sent out Bishop Staley to Hawaii. It was a gratifying circumstance that there was present at this meeting Dr. Mildred Staley, a daughter of Bishop Staley, who was born in Honolulu, now a medical missionary of that Society in India. He reminded those present that four laymen and one clergyman started the Society and he plead for work by laymen among sailors and in organizing Sunday Schools on the plantations. In conclusion he thanked God that the last time he stood on a platform in Honolulu during his present visit, was at the celebration of this bicentenary.

How little did those present think that shortly after reaching England, in less than three months after this address, Mr. Davies would have died. In the July issue of the Diocesan Magazine appeared the notice of his death. It

said: "Who that was present at our S. P. C. K. meeting on March 8, at which Mr. Davies spoke so earnestly and eloquently, would have thought that his days on earth were so nearly numbered. . . . On May 25, after a short illness, he was called away. Our deepest sympathy goes out to Mrs. Davies and the family at Tunbridge Wells.

"Singularly successful in business, Mr. Davies contributed in no small degree to advance the prosperity of these Islands. He has left behind him a good example of liberality in the use of the wealth he had accumulated. Full of zeal for the advance of the Gospel, he subscribed largely to the support of missions. For the last two years he was on the Standing Committee of the Church Missionary Society and his benefactions to that Society were munificent."

It is pleasant to read the above and see that after all past differences there was appreciation and more friendly feeling. They may have been drawn together by the fact that both Bishop Willis and Mr. Davies were pronounced Royalists and expressed their views in writing. Mr. Davies had been in charge in England of the education of the Princess Kaiulani, the daughter of Governor Cleghorn and Likelike, the sister of Liliuokalani, who had designated her as the heiress apparent to the throne. After eight years' absence the Princess returned to Honolulu on November 9, 1897, and died on March 6, 1899. There was a state funeral and the Bishop conducted it at Kawaiahao Church.

In January, 1898, Bishop Willis received a commission from the Bishop of London authorizing him to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in Fiji and Samoa and all other islands not connected with the Melanesian Mission. The Bishop of London by custom is supposed to have under his spiritual jurisdiction all members of the Church of England in any part of the world not included in any diocese. Thus the American Colonies were under him prior to the independence of the United States.

ALFRED WILLIS, D. D.
Second Bishop of Honolulu
1872–1902

Acting under his commission the Bishop and Mrs. Willis left Honolulu on July 19, 1899, on the Mariposa and at Apia he held two services. During his stay of a week he visited the graves of the British and American sailors who had been killed in encounters with the natives and had been buried by Chaplain McAlister (a Churchman) of the Philadelphia.

Arriving at Levuka, Fiji, he confirmed 28 persons presented by the Rev. W. Floyd who had lived there for thirty years. From Levuka he went to Suva and held service and confirmed 15 persons. He enjoyed this journey and received the thanks of the people at a public meeting.

In December, 1899, he visited the leper settlement at Molokai. He celebrated the Holy Communion for a member of the Anglican Church, which was the chief object of his visit.

In the last years of his episcopate in the Islands the Bishop was engaged in making preparations for the transfer of jurisdiction to the American Church. All stations in the field were filled, the Rev. Dr. A. B. Weymouth being at Lahaina, the Rev. William Ault at Wailuku, the Rev. Erasmus Van Deerlin at Kohala and the Rev. L. H. Davis at Kealakekua.

CHAPTER XXIII

REVIEW OF HOPES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS. HIS OPINIONS.

Bishop Willis was blamed for not extending the Church, but as has been seen, circumstances were against him. He had tried to establish the Church at Waimea, Hawaii, where the Rev. J. C. Searle, in 1874, had a school, which was removed next year to Lahaina.

The Rev. Abel Clark of Waialua died and the Church property was rented. When the Rev. R. Wainwright left Kapaa, work on Kauai ceased.

In 1882 the Bishop saw openings at Kau and at Hamakua and at both places he obtained sites for a church. He believed that future possibilities were bound up with the possession of real estate and he had acquired property in many localities. In 1872 he found that the Anglican Church in Hawaii was the owner of only two pieces of property, one the site of the Cathedral, (this did not include the land where the Davies Memorial Building now stands nor where the Japanese Church is), the other, the cemetery lot at Lahaina. The church and parsonage at Wailuku were on land leased from the Government, and the church at Kona was on land subject to a lease. The land acquired by the Church during the episcopate of Bishop Willis was as follows:

1873.

The Crown Commissioners deeded the land on which the church stood at Wailuku, consisting of 1.84 acres.

Henry N. Greenwell gave 7673 square feet at Kona.

1874.

The lease on two acres of land at Kona was purchased and the cemetery consecrated.

The site of the church at Lahaina was bought of Henry Dickenson for $600.

1876.

An addition to the Church land at Kona was acquired from John D. Paris for $375.

1877.

A small piece of land was added to the Wailuku premises at a cost of $100.

1878.

At Lahaina a little over an acre of land with a stone house, formerly occupied by St. Cross School, was purchased from the Devonport Sisters for $900.

1879.

At Honokaa 2.2 acres were conveyed to the Church by Royal Patent.

1881.

A piece of land at Waialua was bought from the Board of Education. It contained 1.58 acre and cost $50.

1883.

The Union Mill Co. at Kohala deeded 37/100 of an acre for a church. This was donated by the George Holmes Estate.

1885.

Queen Emma gave a site for St. Peter's Chinese Church. This adjoined the Cathedral land.

1887.

At Makapala, Kohala, 44/100 of an acre was purchased for $140 for a Chinese Church. Charles Notley and Theo. H. Davies gave ½ acre of land at Paauilo.

1893.

Luke Aseu and others gave ½ acre as an addition to the church lot at Makapala.

1896.

A lane leading to the Makapala church was acquired.

Churches had been built at Lahaina, Kohala, (St. Augus-

tine's and St. Paul's) and in Honolulu a portion of the Cathedral and St. Peter's Church.

A Chinese Mission had been started at Kula, Maui, but it had no building.

The Bishop claimed that lack of progress was due to "the inability on the part of many who enjoy the privileges of the Church to understand and embrace the doctrines, subject to which they are permitted by their charter to have and to hold the privileges they enjoy."

Those who opposed him accused him of being arbitrary, of not respecting the rights of the laity, of exercising his office in a way which antagonized people.

In looking calmly over the whole situation and with a personal liking for Bishop Willis, I believe that the root principle of most of his troubles was the monarchical idea of the episcopate, which Bishop Selwyn said was "foreign to the early history of the Church." The American Episcopal Church has constitutional government. Many men who were members of the Convention which drew up the Constitution of the United States were also members who set forth the Constitution of the Church.

Those who were nearest the Bishop had an abiding affection for him. He was kind and helpful and many young men were devoted to him.

Those who blamed him for the slow growth of the Church did not, it would seem, recognize the difficulties which he faced which have been enumerated.

He was a scholar, a gentleman, agreeable socially and of a forgiving disposition. The last ten years saw the American element hostile to him because of his political opinions. He was fearless and stubborn for what he believed to be right. It was a trying situation for him and for many. He was of the stuff of which martyrs are made, unbending in any cause which he believed to be just. How he kept up his courage is a mystery to all who do not understand how a firm faith

can uphold one. He held that if men did not use the privileges the Church offered them it was their fault. Often he would go to the Cathedral at 6:30 and find no communicants. In 1897 the Bishop's congregation recorded for the year 117 celebrations of the Holy Communion. Including Easter Day the average at each of these was less than seven lay communicants. The attendance at the other services was usually very small. Most men would have given up in despair but to him it was a duty to hold on. One can not but admire his tenacity of purpose while disagreeing with his methods. It was pathetic to think of him after thirty years of self-sacrificing labor at the age of sixty-seven, when most men would be seeking retirement, facing afresh the life of a pioneer Bishop in isolated islands.

To Tonga he went with a high courage, there to toil and undertake a small and almost hopeless work, to lay the foundations of something greater for the future. As he believed in God, so also he believed in the final outcome of work for the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, to the service of which he had dedicated himself, body, mind and spirit.

OPINIONS OF BISHOP WILLIS ON DISEASES, DIET, ETC.

Bishop Willis was much interested in matters of diet and disease. In the Diocesan Magazine for 1890-92 he has several articles on these subjects. One is upon vegetarianism, which he believes would tend to diminish intemperance in drink and prevent cancer, tuberculosis and leprosy.

He was an anti-vaccinationist, and cites opinions in regard to supposed spread of leprosy through vaccination. However, in reading what he wrote, it was the arm to arm system which then prevailed, which he attacked. His objection would not hold now when the vaccine used is obtained from the calf and is put up in small sealed glass tubes in laboratories scientifically conducted.

As to leprosy, in several long articles he shows that he

thoroughly believed in a method called "electro-homeopathy." This, he writes, "is a new science of healing based on the doctrine of the oneness of all diseases forming the basis of a uniform method of cure." This "science" is pronounced to be "as harmonious as truth . . . curing on new and sure principles acute and chronic diseases commonly called incurable. Its medicaments were prepared by fermentation of certain natural substances which gave the remedy really the power of inner electricity, which, by its irresistible force, is the anima of plants and animals."

He fully believed that this system would mitigate and, in many cases, cure leprosy. It had been tried in India and the results had been wonderful. Like most so-called panaceas the process of preparation was a secret one, and, like all others of the kind, soon ceased to be heard of.

As recorded elsewhere, a resolution of the Synod in 1891 was sent to the Legislature and the remedy was tried. Of course his deep interest in the lepers is to be highly commended and the Legislature was then, as later, easily moved to try proposed remedies. Many will remember one proposal to use "male and female rocks" to be brought from the East Indies!

When the cholera came here and the Board of Health prohibited Church and Sunday School services, the Bishop wrote to the Evening Bulletin protesting against the order, which he compared to the interdict of Pope Innocent III. (This interdict forbade all Church services in England, and was put in force to compel the King to obey the Pope). He claimed that the action of the civil authority was an abuse of power.

At the time of the plague in 1900 the Bishop preached a sermon, taking the position that it was a "divine chastisement. The increase of knowledge has led men to scorn the belief of our ancestors that pestilences were chastisements

of God. With all science 'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' "

Bishop Willis was opposed to cremation and took the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh to task for an article in the Anglican Church Chronicle for May, 1900, in which he favored this manner of disposing of a corpse. He "expressed the hope that his friends would do this favor for him when the time came." The Bishop wrote that if this were done: "We sincerely trust that no clergyman of the Anglican Church will be found to carry out the program, which would turn the Christian Burial Service into a farce." He argues that the intention of the service is that the body should be buried and the last part of the service said at the grave. "For a priest to go through the form of a committal anywhere else is a mockery. To Christians cremation appears a return to paganism."

In the American Prayer Book, it is permissible to say the whole burial service in the Church, and as to cremation, as this is written, the late Bishop Hunting of Nevada left instructions that his body be cremated. This method of disposing of the dead is now so common in Honolulu that it causes no comment, but it is preferable, when possible, to hold the entire service before cremation has taken place.

In April, 1901, the Bishop had an article on "The Book of Jonah is no Fiction," in which he argues that it is not a parable but relates a fact. The book of Jonah uses a word which means "a great fish." He cites Dr. Pusey for instances where great fish in the Mediterranean have been known to swallow men and even horses. One instance was where a sailor fell overboard from a frigate and was swallowed by a fish. The captain shot the fish which then disgorged the sailor. The fish was twenty feet long and weighed 3,024 pounds. It was dried and the sailor exhibited it in various places and made money by so doing.

CHAPTER XXIV

A BRIEF AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF THE FIRST AMERICAN BISHOP OF HONOLULU, THE RIGHT REV. HENRY BOND RESTARICK, D. D.

At a special meeting of the House of Bishops, held in Cincinnati, on April 16, 1902, I was elected the first American Bishop of Honolulu. It may not be out of place to give a few facts connected with my life. I was born near Wells, Somersetshire, England, on December 26, 1854. My parents on both sides were of Celtic stock. In 1915, while on a train in Japan, a Japanese, to whom I told my place of birth, said: "But you are not Anglo-Saxon, you are a Celt, I can tell by the shape of your head." I found that he was a learned anthropologist who had studied in Europe. He was correct for both of my grandfathers were Cornishmen, and my mother's grandfather was an Irishman named Riall, who lived at Ilchester, England, and was Mayor of the town.

The name Restarick is found in Cornwall and South Devon and is probably of French origin. As Garique became Garrick, so Restarique became Restarrick, in which way some now spell it. The tradition is that the family came from Brittany at the time of the persecution of the Huguenots, as did so many others. The population of Brittany is largely Celtic.

My father's family, as known to me, were business men. One of his brothers was a builder of ships and was Mayor of Bideford, Lord of the manor, and magistrate for many years. My mother's brothers were professional men, one of them, Thomas Webb, being an author, a lawyer and a judge. Another was a physician and a third a clergyman.

I received my chief education in King James' Collegiate School at Bridgwater, in which youth were prepared for the

universities. I left home in June, 1873, and lived for a year on a farm, after which I obtained a teacher's first class certificate at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Some time later, when teaching in the High School in that town, I boarded at the home of a lawyer, D. C. Bloomer, who was the Senior Warden of St. Paul's Church, and I read law with him for one year. Mrs. Bloomer was a remarkable woman who had been identified with the woman's suffrage movement. She had been in New York State the first woman publisher of a newspaper in the United States. Her name was given to the costume for women which she adopted, until she found that it hurt the cause to which she was devoted, when she abandoned its use.

Attending Church with Mr. Bloomer, the Rector, the Rev. Frederick T. Webb, became interested in me, and both of these men suggested that I study for the ministry, which I had thought of but shrank from mentioning. At that time Griswold College, Davenport, Iowa, was an institution under the Bishops of five Western Dioceses, and had an excellent corps of instructors. Mr. Webb was a graduate of Griswold and he wished me to go there.

Having passed the necessary examinations, I entered as a student, and during the first years took both the Collegiate and Theological courses at the same time. I was ordained Deacon in Lent, 1881, and continued my studies until I graduated and was ordained Priest in June, 1882.

I was called to Muscatine, Iowa, but as I had been suffering from malaria for the past two years, I determined to go to California, where Bishop Kip had offered me the charge of San Diego. I was married on June 28, to Miss May L. Baker of Council Bluffs, and a week later left for California.

At San Diego the stipend was $75 a month, out of which we paid $20 for rent. I had under my care the whole of San Diego County, which was then twice as large as the State of Massachusetts. At the first celebration of the Holy

Communion in the little box of a church, there were seven communicants, one of whom was a man. In 1902 there was a fine church, built in 1887, and seven missions, with two priests and ten lay readers as my assistants. From the staff of lay readers seven studied for Holy Orders, and one of them is now the Bishop of New York.

I was Dean of Southern California, a member of the Standing Committee, Examining Chaplain, and had been a delegate to every General Convention since 1892. In 1895 I was nominated against my protest for Bishop of Los Angeles and received votes next in number to Dr. Johnson who was elected.

In April, 1902, I received word from a friend that I was to be nominated as Bishop of Salina (Western Kansas), and as it was considered that I had been prominent in the General Convention in the action which led to the setting apart of that Missionary District, I did not see how I could decline if elected, and yet it was about the last place where I could wish to live. The House of Bishops met in special session at Cincinnati in April, 1902, and on the 18th I received a telegram saying: "You have been elected Bishop of Honolulu on the first ballot." Many friends, among them my own Bishop, had the idea that, in view of the troubles which had existed in Honolulu, I was likely to decline. George Gay and Mr. and Mrs. H. P. Wood, who had lived in Hawaii, but were then in San Diego, called and told me a great deal about the Islands. Later I went to San Francisco to see Bishop Nichols, who had just returned from Honolulu, where he had effected the transfer of the Church to American jurisdiction. I told him that in looking over the statistics of the Church in Hawaii I thought there would not be enough work for me to do. He said: "You can and will make work."

Bishop Nichols was in Honolulu when the news of my election reached there. Referring to this in his book, "Days

of My Age," he wrote: "My personal knowledge and valued personal friendship, deepened through six years when associated with him as a Presbyter in the Diocese of California, before the creation of the Diocese of Los Angeles, his prominence as a pioneer in developing that Diocese, and his strong nomination there for its first Bishop, enabled me to speak spontaneous words of commendation of the choice, and to assure the clergy and laity of the promise of development I believed would follow his administration. Calling attention to his published words and offices in the Diocese of Los Angeles and in General Convention, among other things, I spoke of him as follows: Archdeacon Restarick is in the prime of life, and of strong character, whose full score of years in his present field, St. Paul's Parish, San Diego, has shown the parish builder, the thoughtful and instructive preacher and writer, the moulder and leader of men, the sound and sympathetic counsellor, the trusted representative in Diocesan and General Conventions, and the man of wide outlook upon the general affairs of the Church."

He also said: "The strong coherent work around one center in San Diego, with a staff of clergy, has been a tribute to his power of organization, his enlisting the interest of men and women, as well as winning the confidence of the community—if he comes, as I hope he will, he is well fitted to make this city a center for a larger demonstration of church extension."

Walter G. Smith, then the editor of the Pacific Commercial Advertiser, wrote in his paper as follows: "A personal acquaintance of many years' standing with Mr. Restarick, enables us to predict for him a successful episcopate. His strength lies in organization, in pastoral concerns, and in making things grow. He is of quiet manners and pleasant address. As a rule he has his own way about church affairs and works things out about right."

Acting Governor Henry E. Cooper, who had been a former

parishioner, wrote: "I was delighted to hear of your election. I sincerely hope that you will come. I know how hard it will be to leave San Diego, where you have worked so successfully, but we need you here."

I wrote to the Presiding Bishop accepting the election, and was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, San Diego, by Bishops Nichols, Johnson, Kendrick and Jaggar, and at once made preparations to leave. It was no easy matter to do this, for the affection and devotion of the people, shown in so many ways, made it hard. Perhaps nothing affected me more than the words of Father Ubach, the Roman Catholic Priest, the original of Father Gasparo in Helen Hunt Jackson's "Ramona." We had been associated in work for the Indians in San Diego County, and at that time I had been appointed by President Roosevelt on a commission to select lands for the Warner Ranche Indians. The venerable priest came to me and said: "There is no one more sorry than I am that you are going away."

The community presented me with a purse of $1,000. The women of the Church gave me two sets of robes and the clergy of the Diocese a handsome pectoral cross. The parting with old and tried friends was a sad one but my heart was somewhat lightened when four of my parishioners volunteered to go with me as workers. They were, Mrs. L. F. Folsom, Miss Evelyn Wile (now Deaconess), Miss Charlotte Teggart and F. F. Fyler.

After a rest in San Francisco, where we met several Honoluluans, we sailed (our party numbered eleven) on the Peru on August 1, 1902, arriving at Honolulu August 8th. Outside the harbor we were met by L. Tenney Peck and Wray Taylor. I thought it best to decline invitations of entertainment and went with my family to the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, where we remained two weeks until we found a house.

The newspapers gave full reports of our arrival and of

what occurred in those first days. A reporter called and asked me what my policy would be. I replied that the only policy I had was to endeavor to get the people to pray and to work.

The first service which I held in St. Andrew's Cathedral was on Sunday, August 10, when I celebrated the Holy Communion at 7 a. m. There was a full choir and a large congregation, including Queen Liliuokalani and her attendants. I addressed the Hawaiian congregation at 9:45 and, at 11 o'clock, preached, taking as a theme the inscription on the seal of the District: "He lanakila ma ke kea," victory by the cross. In the evening I preached at St. Clement's.

I had made up my mind to refuse to hear anything of past difficulties and endeavored in all appointments to be impartial. I at once appointed myself Dean of the Cathedral, thus avoiding placing any representative of a faction in that office. Bishop Nichols had advised this course, saying that the work was too small for a Bishop and another man as Dean. I performed the duties of this office for nineteen years. Naturally there were some who did not forget the past and a newspaper, then published and edited by a malcontent, frequently had items of hostile criticism, so I was told. One of the clergy came to tell me of a particularly virulent attack and suggested that I answer it. I said: "I never read the paper and do not want to hear what it prints. I have made it a rule never to answer personal attacks or slurs of any kind. I do what I believe to be right after careful consideration and consultation, and I then do not care what people say." The editor of the Advertiser, W. G. Smith, was a brilliant writer, one who could and did write most scathing articles, when he thought it necessary. I had known him well in San Diego and he was of great help to me; however, I did not always relish his items of praise, nor his pouncing upon hostile critics. Those were days when feeling still ran high in regard to annexation, but it

did not affect the progress of the Church, for, I would say: "I had no part in it and have come here to build up the Church and I am sure you will help me."

Early, by appointment, I made a call on the Queen, who received me graciously and cordially and my relations with her were always pleasant. It was not many years after this when, on her birthday, I saw among the callers Judge Dole, W. O. Smith and many others who had been prominent in the overthrow of the monarchy.

My work during the following years will appear in the accounts given under various headings of places and institutions and it will only be necessary here to relate what may be of interest in matters not included in other chapters.

It was necessary to call the primary Convocation as soon as possible, that the Missionary District might be organized under the Constitution and Canons which I had adopted, namely, those of the Diocese of Colorado, which had been recommended to me by Missionary Bishops, and which I believed best adapted to conditions in Hawaii. The duty of selecting a Constitution and Canons for a Missionary District devolves upon the Bishop.

The Convocation met on November 19-20, 1902, and Solomon Meheula was elected Secretary and Henry Smith, Treasurer. Those appointed were: Edmund Stiles, Registrar; Judge W. L. Stanley, Chancellor, and the Rev. Canons Mackintosh and Ault, Edmund Stiles and Major Edward Davis, Council of Advice. On the Board of Directors were, Canon Ault, the Rev. John Usborne, W. R. Castle, Jr., Henry Smith, Luke Aseu, Edmund Stiles and Solomon Meheula. The members of the Board of Missions were, the Rev. Messrs. F. Fitz and John Usborne, Major E. Davis and Philip Dodge. The Board of Equalization was T. Clive Davies, Yap See Young and Edmund Stiles.

These names are here given because the list shows the fine spirit of the members of Convocation. There was no

attempt to displace men who had held office under the former administration, although the majority of the delegates present had been of the opposing party. Of the men elected seven had been partisans of Bishop Willis and seven had held opposite views. There was harmony and good will and as an old friend of the former régime said: "How I dreaded the meeting, but how delighted I was that things went without a discordant note."

It was not an easy task to get the organization into line with the American Church, as there was only one man present besides the Bishop who was familiar with its spirit and working. Much of the time of the meeting was taken up in considering desirable changes in the adopted Constitution and Canons, and this in itself was an education in American Church procedure.

Following the example of the other Dioceses known to me, on the Tuesday after the Convocation met, there was held the first Diocesan meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary, at which steps were taken to organize a District branch. There was also a day devoted to the discussion of Christian education. This last was continued for several years and proved most edifying.

At the time of the first Convocation there were six priests and two deacons at work in the Islands, and these were all present. As far as could be ascertained by reports there were 720 communicants, of whom 366 were at the Cathedral. There were vacancies at Paauilo, Kona and Kohala. There was much to be done, but the laity everywhere were ready to help and the Church increased in numbers and influence year by year.

On Good Friday, 1903, I conducted the Three Hours' Service at the Cathedral, using the same form that had been found so devotional at San Diego. Though this was the first time it had ever been held in Honolulu, the church was crowded, as it was in future years. Many Christians of

other names were in the congregation and expressed their appreciation of it. One man, Dr. Hiram Bingham, a son of the first missionary, always attended as long as he was able. He had been a missionary in the Gilbert Islands for many years and had faced the spears of savage chiefs. When asked what he did, he said: "I just prayed."

Years later, Good Friday services were held in the Central Union and latterly a Three Hours' Service has been conducted there.

During the first years I delivered addresses at the graduation exercises at the Kamehameha School, Punahou, the High School and the Normal, besides officiating as Chaplain on many public occasions—as a new comer I was in demand for such functions.

In 1903 I went to Washington to attend a council of the Anglican Bishops of North America and was one of three to address a great meeting at the Church of the Epiphany. By appointment I called on President Roosevelt, who asked questions about Hawaii, as to the Chinese, general conditions and officials to be appointed. He was a man who sought information. This year, and on subsequent visits to the mainland, I made addresses at the most important churches in the country, also at Church Clubs and at the annual meetings of Diocesan branches of the Woman's Auxiliary. Under the present system, Missionary Bishops seldom go to the Eastern States and many Diocesan Bishops and others say that they believe this is a great loss to the people who do not learn at first hand about the work. It was a hard task to follow the program laid out by the Secretary, John W. Wood, whose schedule often meant three addresses a day at places some distance apart. I never begged on such occasions, but a Missionary Bishop in going about makes friends who give later because they know him and his needs. It was the custom then in the large parishes to have two offerings a year, one for Domestic and one for Foreign Missions, as they were then

called. I often spoke at such times and seldom received even my travelling expenses. I spoke of the Islands and the opportunities, and the far reaching effect of missionary work in Hawaii and aroused intelligent interest everywhere.

On these journeys to the mainland I often met people who were born in Hawaii, and of these, some became helpful friends of the work. In December, 1904, I was the guest, at Detroit, of Dr. Justin A. Emerson, the son of the Waialua missionary. He was a prominent Churchman of the Diocese of Michigan, and was on the Cathedral vestry. While in Detroit, there was a meeting of prominent laymen from Western Dioceses, and seeing David B. Lyman enter the room, I brought him over to Dr. Emerson, and said: "Now you can talk Hawaiian." The two men had not met since 1863, and it was touching to hear their expressions of aloha for the land of their birth, to which neither of them, at that time, had returned, since leaving it.

David B. Lyman, a son of the founder of the Lyman School at Hilo, was an honored layman of the Diocese of Chicago, and a man of influence in the General Convention, to which he was a delegate for many years. I asked him how he came to be a Churchman. He said that as a boy, the only Christian bodies which he knew were the Protestant and Roman Catholic, although, of course, he had heard of others.

Before he left home to attend Harvard University, he asked his father with which denomination he should unite in the States. The reply was: "My son, study your Bible and go where that leads you." When young Lyman was confirmed, he wrote his father informing him of the step he had taken. His father in a letter expressed his surprise and some regret, asking him what led him to do this. The son replied: "You told me to unite with the Church to which the Bible led me. I followed your advice and became a communicant of the Episcopal Church." The elder Lyman graciously accepted the explanation.

David B. Lyman told me that his mother at Hilo always kept a Prayer Book with her Bible at her bedside. A brother, Francis Ogden Lyman, married a daughter of Richard H. Dana, and he also, and others of his family, including his sister, Mrs. S. W. Wilcox of Kauai, became helpful members of the Episcopal Church.

During my first years as Bishop, times were not prosperous in Hawaii. The price of sugar was low and many plantations were paying no dividends, the result being that money was not easy to obtain. There was not the wealth in the Islands that there was later, and if progress was to be made, help had to be obtained from outside. Having many friends in the Eastern States, large gifts were made to me for the mission work, none ever being asked for the Cathedral. People in the East had, by this time, decided objections to helping Missionary Bishops to build Cathedrals, and, besides, I avoided asking for money for any object not purely missionary in character.

The work was greatly helped by visitors who came to Honolulu, and saw what was being done. They were always shown every phase of the work and were told something of the history of institutions and the plans for progress. The result was that the largest and most continuous contributors were among those to whom such attention was paid. Often after taking them to see the missions and schools and homes of Christian Chinese, large gifts would come, although I always refrained from asking them for money. It has been said that I was a good beggar, a term I heartily dislike. I went on the principle that if I could show progressive work, aid would be given, and it was in a wonderful way.

It had always been my policy from my first charge in 1882 to seek opportunities for extending Church work and not wait until people asked for services. So it has been that St. Elizabeth's, St. Mark's, St. Mary's and the Epiphany were founded in Honolulu, as well as missions in other

BISHOP RESTARICK
And two of his little Hawaiian Friends.

places. Where the field was fully occupied by others and where there were none of our own people who needed ministrations, no new work was undertaken. Among the non-Christian people I earnestly desired to start missions, but among these the Hawaiian Board and the Methodists were spending large sums of money and so our opportunities were few. Besides this, even if money had been available, suitable men could not be obtained, although every effort was made to secure them.

On my first visit to a place on Hawaii I called to see a bed-ridden Hawaiian woman and at her side was a Prayer Book. She said that she read it daily, though long deprived of the ministrations of the Church. She had been a pupil at St. Cross school, Lahaina, when young and she had not lost her loyalty to the Church of her baptism and confirmation. She asked me to come next day and baptize six of her grandchildren, which I did. About the same time a Hawaiian man, who had attended Iolani, said to me: "If you want to build up the Church, you must keep up the schools."

These, and many like circumstances, led me to give special attention to the Church schools then existing and to encourage the starting of others, both day and night schools.

As is to be expected, many pupils do not turn out as is hoped for, and this is the case with any Church schools, but all over the Islands in our missions are to be found old pupils, faithful and helpful. It has been more discouraging with boys than with girls. The boys are not so carefully guarded, and there are many ready to lead them off into devious paths, yet, in times of marriages, baptisms or troubles, they turn to the Church, which, though neglected has not been forgotten.

With the Priory I have had singularly happy relations. Many of the girls have been virtually my wards, and one of the happiest features of my episcopate has been the implicit confidence which they have given me, and the affection

they have shown, which has not lapsed when they have married and lived at a distance.

Long before Bishop Willis resigned, Iolani had become largely a school for Chinese and later, the Japanese began to come. It has not been an easy task to keep up the schools and the difficulty in getting teachers has been a serious matter. The Roman Catholics, with their lay brothers and sisterhoods, have a great advantage in this respect. All schools, in Honolulu, public and private, have had the same trouble about getting and retaining teachers. Our schools have not been worse off than others, and they have had many devoted teachers who have rendered efficient and loyal service for years. In the early years the salaries paid to teachers were very small, usually to begin with, $30 a month with room and board and washing. But at that time, teachers in the public schools were not better paid, all things being considered, their salaries then being $40 to $50, out of which they had to meet their living expenses. A teacher well known to me, in 1904, was employed in the Honolulu High School at $62.50 a month. Now girls fresh from the Normal School get $110 a month in country schools.

In 1902 the buildings and equipment of the public schools in the Territory were old and generally in poor condition. Many private schools were no better off. The Mills Institute, then known as Frank Damon's School, housed its boys in an old building on Chaplain Lane. In 1902 the older boys were sent to Iolani for tuition.

When interest was aroused and the new era began in the construction of excellent public school buildings, the provision of modern equipment and the increase in salaries, it meant the expenditure of large sums of money. It was, of course, difficult for our schools to keep pace with these changes, but, in spite of all handicaps, they continued to do good work and to make progress.

In 1902 many things, now important, were then in their

infancy. As an instance, the music department of Punahou was so small that an arrangement was made with the Cathedral organist to take charge of its work, the school paying half of his salary, and the Cathedral Vestry the other half.

As salaries have been advanced in the public schools, ours have been advanced also. However, as far as possible, I obtained those who wished to do missionary work for the love of it, and were willing to accept a small stipend. Our teachers' salaries at that time were larger in proportion than those of the clergy, who had families and housekeeping expenses.

It was a great help when a generous Island layman in 1905 offered to place in my hands $2,500 a year to augment clerical stipends. There was a stipulation that two persons whom he named were to be beneficiaries who were to receive a certain amount each, annually, but the rest was to be distributed at my discretion. By this annual gift I was able to supplement the salaries of those judged to be most in need and (according to instructions) to make special grants in case of illness in a family. It was at that time the policy that each clergyman should receive not less than $1,200 a year and a house, and this was generally adhered to, though most men received something more, and those with no children, less. Later I was able, by special gifts, to provide automobiles for those whose work demanded them, and the Woman's Auxiliary assisted in their upkeep.

It has always been a great trial, not only in Missionary Districts, but in Dioceses, to keep men, especially in small places, but in this respect we have fared better than most. Out of 19 clergy in the Islands in 1920,

Five were here prior to 1902
One .....since.....1905
One ..... " 1906
Two..... " 1911
One ..... " 1913

One	"	1915
Two	"	1916
Two	"	1918
Two	"	1919
Two	"	1920

Of those who have left, three remained but a short time. Three have died while canonically connected with the District. These were Dr. A. B. Weymouth, after ten years' residence, the Rev. F. W. Merrill, after eight years' and the Rev. Shim Yin Chin, who died in 1916, eleven years after being ordained deacon in the Cathedral.

Canon Potwine was ten years at St. Elizabeth's, leaving for family reasons. The Rev. Albert L. Hall left because of ill health after nine years' residence. The Rev. Leopold Kroll was here eleven years. The Rev. Frank Eteson resigned to enter the British Army. The Rev. Leland H. Tracy, after five years, went to Manila. The Rev. Frank Saylor, after eight years, went to the mainland.

The average charge of a clergyman in this Church on the mainland is less than three years, so that we have been fortunate in the length of service of the Island clergy.

In 1902 the amount appropriated by the Board of Missions, New York, for the work in Hawaii was $1,500 a year. This was gradually increased as new work was opened. My idea always was to ask as little as possible for each individual and to supplement this with what could be supplied locally, either by the mission or the institution, as the case might be.

Sometimes people told workers to demand more salary from the Bishop. Such did not know how often, in those very cases, the Bishop had tried to get more from the Board and had failed. Especially had this been true with the salaries paid to Orientals, which the Board, despite every effort, on my part, declined to raise because of the effect on native workers in Asia.

I have always believed that mission workers, as one proof of their sincerity, should make sacrifices and be willing to work for less than they could obtain elsewhere. When this idea generally prevailed, volunteers were many. When it was demanded that they get well paid, fewer workers, clerical and lay, presented themselves, and in larger degree the missionary spirit was lacking. It has been well pointed out that missionaries in the domestic field receive far smaller salaries than those who work in distant lands. Honolulu has always been at a disadvantage in that, though much of its work is among Asiatics, and so, of a foreign character, the pay and allowances have been calculated by the Board on a domestic basis, Hawaii being an integral part of the United States, it is so rated.

The Board has dealt generously with Honolulu, and yet, Alaska, with a work which is among a transient population and has been stationary for years, usually received about three times the amount sent to Honolulu, where there is a stable and increasing population.

The policy of the Board of Missions is now, as a rule, to discourage special gifts and to have all money sent to its Treasurer, this to be dispensed on the judgment of the Board. As a matter of fact, all large Church institutions in the mission field, at home and abroad, have been built by specials, and how the present method with the priority system will work out is yet to be shown.

Again in the matter of gifts, friends in the Islands and in the States were most generous to me. The late W. A. Procter gave $25,000 for land and buildings alone. Stephen A. Palmer of New York, $18,700; George B. Cluett of Troy, N. Y., $19,500 at one time. Others now living have given for buildings large sums of money, mention of whom I have made elsewhere, when I have been at liberty to do so.

Towards the support of the work, one friend in New York sent me annually for sixteen years $2,000. Others,

whenever I wrote of special needs, sent $1,000 at a time.

Island friends were most helpful. One man, a son of a missionary, has given at various times $30,000 for land and buildings, besides large gifts annually for work, and others helped materially, especially the Mary Castle Trust and H. P. Baldwin and family, and the Wilcox family of Kauai. These gifts and many from others were made not only for buildings but for the support of scholarships, care of orphans and aid for mission stations. Much of the advance made since 1902 has been due to gifts from missionary children. Many things could not have been done without their aid so freely given.

Island Churchmen, too, have done their part. One gave $10,000 at one time and $5,000 at another time for designated purposes. Another on one occasion gave me $10,000 for a certain object. Many have given under condition that the donor's name should not be mentioned.

I have never, from the first, kept the accounts myself of the large sums of money entrusted to me, and always had them carefully audited, long before the Church authorities made such audit compulsory.

THE HAWAIIAN CHURCH CHRONICLE.

In September, 1908, I took over the Anglican Church Chronicle which Canon Mackintosh had edited and published as a parish paper since 1882. It had represented the views of a considerable number of people, and had kept up an interest in the Second Congregation and its friends.

The name of the paper was changed by substituting the word Hawaiian for Anglican. The subscription price of $2.50 was reduced to $1.00. Like that of several Diocesan papers, my plan was to see that it reached every one connected with, or interested in, this Church. The idea was to make it the means of communication between the Bishop and his people and friends here and abroad.

To carry this into execution, while the payment of the annual subscription was sought through Guilds and other agencies, yet it was distinctly made known that if one could not, or did not, wish to pay, the paper would still be sent. This was done because I considered it important that all those in any way interested might be kept in touch with the work of the Church both at home and abroad. In many homes it was the only religious paper taken.

Sometimes there was a deficit which friends readily made up. Its value was shown in many ways, not only was it a medium for disseminating Church teaching and news, but it was a unifying influence and did much to break up parochialism by arousing an interest in the scattered missions in the Islands, as well as those in the foreign field. Its value was further shown by the generous response to needs mentioned from time to time.

As editor and publisher I was greatly aided by Canon Potwine, who gave much thought and time to the work in addition to his other manifold duties. I continued it as long as I was in charge, which was until August, 1921, when I turned it over to my successor.

CHAPTER XXV

RELATIONS WITH OTHER CHRISTIANS AND DIFFERENT RACES.

No one has had reason to doubt that I have always been a strong Churchman, ready and willing to state, and if necessary to defend, my position. But I have always maintained cordial relations with the pastors and people of our separated brethren.

Mrs. S. N. Castle came to Honolulu in 1843. She was affectionately designated "Mother Castle," and when I called upon her, soon after my arrival, she said: "I do not think any one has been more interested in your coming than I, and I pray that you may be blessed and prospered."

On Kauai I always went to see "Mother Rice," who came to the Islands in 1841. On one occasion she asked me to come to her house and give her the Holy Communion, which, of course, I was glad to do. On December 9, 1902, "Mother Parker" celebrated her hundredth birthday, and I paid her a visit. She told me that when young she had been confirmed in New Haven, Connecticut. A committee of the Mission Children's Society, consisting of Judge Dole, W. O. Smith and Dr. A. B. Clark, asked me to preach her anniversary sermon at the Central Union Church, and I complied with the request. I was further honored in 1920 when the same society asked me to preach the sermon at the service commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the landing of the missionaries.

At one time I was President of the Church Federation in Honolulu, but resigned when it was proposed to bring Billy Sunday here. I did not believe in his methods and the laity supported me in my decision.

I had several conferences with committees of the Ha-

waiian Board to consider avoidance of the duplication of work and the results were satisfactory.

The Cathedral and the Central Union have been closely related by many ties. Many of the old missionary families have had representatives on the Cathedral list of communicants. In 1902, and before that date, those who were newcomers were often told by over-zealous people that if they wanted to "get on" they would do well to join the Central Union Church, but that idea gradually disappeared.

As a matter of fact, all through my episcopate, many of my best friends have been members of the old missionary families and they were not only cordial, but in many instances they were most generous in the aid which they gave to our work.

In several newspaper articles I contradicted errors which had appeared in regard to missionary effort here, which I could do with effect because I was not "a missionary" in the sense that the term is used in Hawaii. And it was not only in the Islands, for I was often able, as opportunity offered on the mainland also, to tell the truth about the American missionaries and their descendants in Hawaii. When in Washington in 1903, I was seriously asked whether it was a fact that all the sons of the old missionaries had "gone to the dogs." Naturally I felt indignant and told the facts at a great meeting of the Missionary Council, at which were present, in the large Church of the Epiphany, men from most of the States in the Union. I did not know that there were any sons of missionaries in attendance, but I was met in the vestry room at the close of the service by two men, David B. Lyman and W. N. Armstrong, who said: "Our fathers need no defense, but we are grateful to you for what you said, and we shall not forget."

Of this address and similar ones, newspapers commented, among which were "The Baltimore Sun," "The New York

Sun," "The Washington Post," "The New York Churchman," "The Living Church," Chicago, "The Missionary Herald," Boston, etc.

Bishop McVicar of Rhode Island, a great friend of Phillips Brooks, was reported as saying: "What more inspiring than Bishop Restarick in Epiphany pulpit last night? It is not new perhaps to tell what he said of his work in Hawaii, but it is new to state that his address was one of the best before the whole Council. The great congregation sat enwrapped in the story, and the honesty of the man as he related it. Hawaii is a part of the United States. Descendants of missionaries sent out by the American Board are not decayed stock but the backbone of the Islands. . . . Hawaii is small but it has set the ideal of missionary endeavor. He related the story of General Armstrong and told of his desire to purchase his residence from childhood, as a school for boys."

The same year I was the chief speaker at a meeting of all denominations held in Tremont Temple, Boston. The Missionary Herald (Congregational) said: "The address by Bishop Restarick attracted special attention. Bishop Restarick, since coming to this country, had heard disparaging utterances respecting the missionaries in Honolulu, so that he felt called upon on this occasion to bear testimony to the work done in the Islands by the American Board. He spoke in eloquent terms of the consecration, ability and devotion of the sons and daughters of the missionaries now in the Islands, many of whom are giving not only their time and strength but their means as well, for Christian work."

There happened to be in the audience on this occasion, William F. Allen of Honolulu, who, in an interview published in the San Diego Tribune said: "I do not wonder that your San Diego people were so sorry to lose Bishop Restarick. . . . As for Honolulu, he is more than filling expectations over there. I doubt if any man could have attained

a greater degree of success in Church work than he. . . . I heard an address by him in Tremont Temple, Boston, at a great missionary meeting a few days ago. . . . He spoke in defense of the missionaries and I was interested in noting the effect of his words upon the vast audience, and I know that they came away with better feeling for Christian workers."

In no case did I imagine that news of what I said would reach Honolulu, but papers here made extracts from mainland journals. The effect of what was spoken and written made friends for the Bishop and the Church in Hawaii and in the States. Money came from both sources. Two men who heard the address in Washington each telegraphed me later $7,000 for the purchase of the Armstrong property, and since there was then on hand more than was needed, one of them allowed me to use his gift for the purchase of the Robertson property on Emma Square, later used for the Priory. In addition to this, many who heard that address became liberal contributors to the work in Hawaii, and continued to give as long as they lived. From this and other visits to the States, it was shown me that people like to see those at work in distant fields, and that one need not minimize the work of others, in presenting his own and its needs. I disliked to leave Hawaii for visits to the mainland. I greatly dreaded the cold in the Eastern States, but the result of my visits showed people that the Church in Hawaii was not composed of malcontents, that troubles had ended, and that there was much work to be done which would be far reaching in results. Mr. S. M. Damon, who was always most friendly, said to me in 1902: "Let people see that you are doing something worth while, and money will come."

In 1902 the work of the Hawaiian Board was at a low ebb. The loss in Hawaiian members had been continuous for years and this had been especially marked since the overthrow of the monarchy, but a new era was soon entered upon.

It was at this time that a member of the Hawaiian Board said to me: "Your aggressive work has caused the Hawaiian Board to revise its methods." I replied that if what I had done had influenced others I was sincerely thankful. It was in San Francisco on my way to Honolulu in 1902 that I first met Mr. S. M. Damon, who said to me that while Bishop Nichols was in Honolulu, he had spoken to him of the need of a Bishop's House, and that when the time came to build he should like to contribute to it. When, years later, an effort was being made to carry the idea into effect, the committee in charge wrote Mr. Damon saying they had no claim on him but if he wished to contribute they would be glad to hear from him. His answer was: "I do not agree with you about having no claim upon me, Bishop Restarick belongs not to you only but to Hawaii. He is one of the three or four men we could not do without." He enclosed a generous gift for the Bishop's House.

I have related these things to illustrate the change in attitude of people towards the Church. When it became American, the chief reason of hostility was removed and if any American of broad views, with an interest in all that made for the good of the Islands, had been sent here it would have been the same. I do not attribute the kindly and appreciative feeling to the person but to the American comprehensive spirit which this Church has always shown on the mainland, and which it has shown here since 1902. This has been as much due to the laity as to the leader, for they have given sympathetic aid to American Church ideals.

ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE DIFFERENT RACES, AND NEWSPAPER CONTROVERSIES.

From the first I studied the question of the different races, not only by reading, but by close personal relationship, as the father in God of those who had connected themselves with this Church. A Missionary Bishop has to make an Annual Report as to conditions in his charge, and in my

first reports I gave a careful survey of the field and of conditions, especially those relating to the work among Orientals and Hawaiians. This gave to the Board of Missions a knowledge of the needs, the difficulties and prospects. The Secretary and others highly commended these reports by letter. When any race was attacked I defended it in the press, whose columns were always open to me. At one time a newspaper eulogized the pagan Chinese, saying that, after all the Christian work in Hawaii, Chinese always sought pagan burials and that Christian Chinese were not trustworthy. I offered to take the writer to one cemetery in Honolulu and show him the graves of 98 Christian Chinese buried there, and as for the standing of Christian Chinese in the community I told him that every bank and large business house had trusted Christian Chinese as employees.

When the Hawaiians were attacked as unfit for suffrage, I compared them as politicians to boss-ridden masses on the mainland and said that the legislature, largely composed of Hawaiians, compared favorably with some that I named in other parts of the United States. A visiting American Senator attended sessions of the Hawaiian Legislature and told me that it compared favorably with similar bodies in the States.

In 1905, by request, I wrote an article for the Independent on conditions in Hawaii from which I will quote as showing my position, which time has not changed. "There is a feeling of despondency among many engaged in Hawaiian religious work. They do not see results for which they had hoped. In that feeling I do not share. There are many disappointments, but when I consider that Christianity was brought here a little over eighty years ago I constantly marvel at what I see. It is true that Kahunaism is believed in, and that the moral ideas of many are not ours. But there is superstition in the States of the Union and there are classes whose moral ideas are low on the mainland. The hope

is with the generation now growing up, which has advantages which their parents had not. Speaking of those whom I know most intimately because so many are under my care, the part-Hawaiian girls are particularly promising. As wives, mothers, teachers, etc., they become a credit to their training and race.

"The expectation that Hawaiians should regulate their lives by Puritan standards was hard on a primitive people. The Roman Catholic Church, with long experience in dealing with such races, was more human, if I may express my idea by that word. I mean they had no commandments such as 'thou shalt not smoke' and they made greater allowance in their discipline of their Hawaiian children."

In this article I dealt with other races, the Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese, and the costly attempts which had been made to get white labor. The Islands, I wrote, were in the tropics and such regions produced staples and were not suitable for white men who wished to farm in the usual American way. Sugar, or some other crop, required large expenditure, and production in large quantities.

There was much written at the time on small farming, and in the Advertiser I pointed out the difficulties in the way of this, and that a white man would have to compete with Japanese and Chinese who already leased much land and raised crops and lived according to their standards. Most of the old residents here highly commended my views, saying that I had told the truth.

There were other paper controversies, one of which, in 1906, was with Father Bissel of the Roman Catholic Church. He had stated in a newspaper that the Church of England was founded by an act of Parliament. In an open letter I asked him to name the act. This of course he could not do because there was no such act.

This led to a discussion in the columns of the Advertiser which aroused wide interest. I treated the whole matter his-

torically, and as Father Bissel had brought in St. Peter and the early Fathers of the Church as well as what occurred in the reign of Henry VIII, the letters covered a large field. The controversy was conducted in good temper and was devoid of anything objectionable, and the result was that Walter G. Smith, the editor, said at the close that it was the only religious discussion he had known in which neither side had said anything to arouse bitterness.

Later, in a series of letters, based on information obtained from a questionnaire sent to all plantation managers and large employers of labor, I advanced the idea that the tendency of modern education on the Islands led boys away from manual labor and made them seekers after political or white collar positions. These letters were widely read and drew out many communications to the press.

CHAPTER XXVI

NOTABLE SERVICES

In 1904 I was requested to consecrate the tombs in which were interred descendants of the Kamehamehas, and two white men. One of the tombs had been finished some time before, and in it were the bodies of the Kings Kamehameha II, III, IV, and V, as well as Kaahumanu, consort of Kamehameha I, and Kamamalu, Kalama and Emma Kaleleonalani, the consorts respectively of Kamehameha II, III, and IV. It also contained the remains of Paki, Kinau, Ruth Keelikolani, Konia, Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Kekuanaoa, father of Kamehameha IV and V. There were also seven others of this family and later, the ashes of Charles R. Bishop were placed beside his wife's casket.

The new tomb, erected by friends, was completed in June, 1904, and in it were deposited the mortal remains of six of the royal line, of Robert C. Wyllie, who had so faithfully served under three Kings, and Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, who had married a daughter of John Young. The coffins containing the bodies of these had been removed from the old mausoleum consecrated by Bishop Staley. The Governor had appointed Edgar Henriques to take charge of the ceremonies of consecration and, at his request, on Sunday afternoon, June 19, 1904, I consecrated the two tombs and made an address. The cemetery presented a unique and brilliant appearance. A mat of ti leaves covered with golden shower blossoms extended ten feet in width around the tomb. The descendants of chiefs present wore ahuulas (capes); kahili and tabu bearers occupied posts of honor; near by were Miss Lucy Peabody and Mrs. Kalaniikumaiiluna Henriques (descendants of Isaac Davis), Mrs. Maria Beckley-Kahea and

Mrs. Stella Keomailani Cockett, all well known adherents of the Kamehameha dynasty.

The choirs of St. Andrew's Cathedral Hawaiian congregation and Kawaiahao Church rendered the music. It was not an easy matter to accommodate the address to a people, who, by the overthrow of the monarchy, had recently lost control of the Government and social prestige. I spoke of what these Kings had done in voluntarily giving to the people constitutional government and rights in fee simple to their lands, advantages which, in most countries, the people had gained by force and bloodshed. I also pointed out that these Kings had seen the manifest destiny of the Islands to become at some time a part of the United States.

When the service was over, the Governor, George R. Carter, said to me: "I was curious to know what you would say, but you pleased both Hawaiians and Americans." It certainly was the first time that an American Bishop had consecrated tombs in which royal persons were interred, and in these are twenty-nine of the Kamehameha family, one American and two from Great Britain related to the others by marriage or long service.

It had been the custom in Hawaii, during the monarchy, to observe the Fourth of July, Memorial Day and Queen Victoria's birthday with special Church services, also the deaths of great Americans and great Englishmen. In Bishop Staley's time he held a memorial service for Abraham Lincoln, and others had been held on the occasion of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria and on her death.

In 1910, on the day of the burial of Edward VII, at the request of British residents, a memorial service was held at the Cathedral. It was attended by the officials of the federal and territorial governments, the consuls of eleven foreign nations, representatives of the United States Army and Navy and a large number of American citizens and subjects of foreign powers.

The burial service was read and appropriate music rendered. I made an address taking two thoughts. First, on the King's words, "I think I have done my duty," and secondly, on what he had accomplished in promoting peace among nations. It was a notable and impressive service.

On the coronation of George V, a service was held at the request of British residents on June 22, 1911. Again a notable gathering assembled, and, as far as possible, it followed that used in Westminster Abbey. Queen Liliuokalani, who had attended the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in London, was present, as were representatives of the Government, of the Army and Navy and the consular body. The sermon was a plea for closer union between the great English speaking peoples.

On June 11, 1911, the tercentenary of the setting forth of King James' version of the Bible was celebrated, the sermon being a historical review of the English Bible and its versions of portions or the whole of it since Saxon times. Other important events were the occasion of special services and sermons from time to time.

BURIAL OF QUEEN LILIUOKALANI.

Forty-eight hours before Queen Liliuokalani died, I was sent for and had prayers with her and her attendants. When the service was over she beckoned me to come to her bedside and there she took my hand and said: "Good bye." I then placed my hand on her head and gave her my blessing.

Soon after her death, Prince Kuhio and Curtis Iaukea called on me and asked me to conduct the funeral service. I asked them whether they wanted it in Hawaiian or English and the answer was: "We consider it better to have it in English." I then suggested to them that the Rev. Henry Parker, a life long friend of the Queen, and her former pastor, should read the lesson in Hawaiian, and, this meeting with hearty approval, I asked Mr. Parker to take this part, which he agreed to do.

The Rev. Leopold Kroll, pastor of the Hawaiian congregation, had been a constant visitor at Washington Place (the Queen's residence) during her illness, and through him arrangements were made for the funeral and the order of service was printed. Mr. Bode, the Cathedral organist, had charge of the music and on consultation he selected the hymns "Now the laborer's task is o'er," "Peace, perfect peace," and the anthem "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes," by Field.

The services were held in the throne room of Iolani Palace, where the burial office had been read over others of her line since the building had been erected.

Those who have not witnessed the ceremonies attending the funerals of royalty in Hawaii can have little idea from any description, of the stately pomp, the dignified order and the effect of color in capes (ahuulas) and kahilis which accompany them. The burial of a Hawaiian alii was unique in its combination of ancient customs and Christian rites. There was an element of ancient splendor, but all was carried out reverently. The lying in state, with relays of watchers, three on each side of the coffin, waving kahilis rhythmically, in perfect unison, while dirges were chanted in the soft Hawaiian tongue, left a deep impression. Then the well arranged procession, as the catafalque was drawn by scores of poolas in white uniforms and yellow capes, the bearers of huge kahilis, the officials of the Hawaiian societies, troops, schools, etc., then the throngs on the streets, made a never to be forgotten scene.

At the tomb in which members of the Kalakaua dynasty are now interred, the final part of the service was said, and the last Queen of Hawaii was laid away while her own beautiful farewell song, "Aloha Oe," was sung.

There had been much that was pathetic in the last years of Liliuokalani and all felt kindly towards her. It was years after 1902 before the Queen appeared at public functions,

and when she began to do so, Americans and all others delighted to show her consideration and honor. For many years after my coming she always attended the closing exercises of St. Andrew's Priory, and one of her last appearances at a large gathering was at a part of the commencement exercises held in the Priory grounds where she sat between Sisters Beatrice and Albertina. For some time she had been failing and was seldom seen at Church, where she was always in her seat, as long as she was well. Her death, nearly one hundred years after the missionaries arrived in Hawaii, told all that the last remnant of the old order had passed away.

It was a strange occurrence that as the catafalque passed out of the cemetery gates the Hawaiian crown surmounting it toppled over and fell to the ground! A significant incident indeed!

In 1918, on the Thanksgiving Day after the Armistice, which the President had designated as the occasion of special thanks to God for the end of the World War, a splendid patriotic service was held. Invitations were issued to Federal and Territorial officials, to the consular body and to the officers at all the posts and the replies showed that there would be a very large attendance.

Silk flags of a uniform size, representing all the allies, were hung in the chancel and the Cathedral never looked more beautiful. The Governor of the Territory, Charles J. McCarthy, read the President's Proclamation from the chancel steps. The music was appropriate and, after the sermon, the Bishop stood before each flag in turn, and, pointing to it, repeated a sentence in reference to the part that country had played in the war, after which, the National Anthem of that particular country was played by the organist, R. R. Bode. It was a grand and thrilling service. The sermon was on the text from I Samuel 17:45: "Thou comest to me with a sword and with a spear and with a shield, but I come to thee in the name of the Lord God whom thou hast defied." It

ended with these words: "May God give us grace that we may not be drunk with power, that no frantic boast may be ours, but that we may be ready ever to strike for freedom, ready ever to hear the call of humanity, ready ever to stand on the side of God against those who would defy Him."

When British ships of war were in the harbor, it was the custom, when practicable, to have a Church parade, and a large number of officers and men attended service at the Cathedral.

A notable instance of this was on October 26, 1919, when H. M. S. New Zealand was in port. The Admiral of the fleet, Viscount and Viscountess Jellicoe, with the Admiral's staff, officers and men, filled the Cathedral, which was decorated specially for the occasion, the flags of the allies being suspended from the pillars of the chancel.

Chaplain Crick of the New Zealand read the lessons and the two Cathedral choirs directed by R. R. Bode rendered the music.

I preached from Acts 7:26, "Sirs, we are brethren." I dwelt upon the unifying influence of a common language and literature, the English Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Then I mentioned the power of the common law, in all English speaking countries, in the preservation of liberty. At the close, I said that the English speaking peoples would hold their dominant position only by holding fast to those things that had made them great, their willingness to work, and their sense of responsibility to God for what He has given them in trust.

Lord Jellicoe, afterwards, strongly commended what I had said about slackers and work.

During the stay of the New Zealand, an officer of the ship was married in the Cathedral to a young lady who had come up from Australia, attended by relatives and friends which made a large wedding party. Lord Jellicoe was one of the witnesses and his name appears on the register.

It might be of local interest to mention that Lady Jellicoe's sister married Admiral Madden, the brother of Edward Madden of Mahukona, Hawaii.

The most remarkable services at the Cathedral are those held for children on Easter Day every year. In 1903 I began to hold services for children at the Cathedral on the Fridays during Lent at 4 p. m., always making the addresses myself. On the afternoon of Easter Day, and also on a Sunday near the Epiphany, I followed my San Diego custom of having all our Sunday Schools of the city unite in such services. They were at once successful and enjoyable when adopted here. Easter Day was a particularly happy day for the children. Not only was every Sunday School in Honolulu urged to attend but transportation was provided for those at the distant points. Familiar hymns were sung and after the children had presented their Lenten offerings for missions, they marched in grand procession with their numerous bright banners around the ambulatory, down the aisles and out into the grounds and back again to their seats for the final prayers. At first there were only three Sunday Schools but, as new missions were organized, the number increased until in 1920 there were ten schools present. Offerings increased proportionately from $40 to $1,750.

The Cathedral was always packed with children and in the early years the processions were full of color when the Chinese and Japanese wore their native costumes. The service was always choral and it was thrilling to hear the voices of the many hundreds of children of different races, all praising the Risen Christ.

Nowhere else in the world could such a service be possible. It was most inspiring in its teaching of the oneness of the human family before God the Father, and as showing that the hearts of children of all races could grasp the love

of God, as manifested in Jesus Christ. It was an unanswerable argument for those who do not believe in missions, and it aroused the missionary spirit in young and old.

A Presbyterian missionary from Japan, who was present one Easter Day said: "I never expect to see such a sight again until I stand with all nations and kindreds and tongues singing before the Lamb on His Throne."

PAROCHIAL MISSIONS.

Archdeacon Percy Webber began a ten days' mission in St. Andrew's Cathedral, March 24, 1904. He came at an opportune time and did much to arouse spiritual life and interest. He also helped to remove prejudice from the minds of a large number of people, not of our way, who attended the services in the Cathedral and those held in a vacant store of the Alexander Young building, kindly loaned to us, where he addressed men at noon day meetings during Holy Week. During his stay he preached at St. Clement's and elsewhere.

In 1906 Father Powell of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Boston, gave a series of instructions at the Cathedral, and visited Island mission stations. His words were helpful and stimulating.

Other later efforts to obtain missioners were unsuccessful.

CHAPTER XXVII

PROPERTY ACQUIRED FROM 1902 TO DECEMBER 31, 1919. GROWTH OF CHURCH.

Before Bishop Willis resigned he published a list of lands and buildings held by the Church Corporation. There were seven churches, three school buildings and three parsonages. The total value as given by him was $101,600, and there was $7,000 in Endowment Funds.

The first purchase after 1902 was that of the Armstrong premises for the use of Iolani School. The cost of this with the building of a house and the making of necessary improvements was $22,000.

Before telling of acquisitions elsewhere, I will relate the story of the additions to Church property around Emma Square. In 1905 the late Mrs. G. M. Robertson stated that she would like the Church to own her house and lot at the Waikiki end of Emma Square and offered to sell it for $6,000, which was less than its assessed value. Her children acceding to her desire joined in signing the deed conveying it to the Bishop, who held it until the full amount was paid and then deeded it to the Church Corporation.

It had long been seen that it was most desirable for the Church to own the land in front of the Cathedral, facing on Beretania Street, but it belonged to an estate, and could not then be sold. It was therefore considered wise to secure, when possible, land on Emma Square. In 1906, the family of the late Theophilus H. Davies bought the land between the Cathedral and Emma Street on which then stood the California Hotel and the Peterson residence. On this was erected the Davies Memorial Hall, and the whole, representing an expenditure of $75,000, was deeded to the Church.

Adjoining the Robertson lot in the Waikiki direction, was

a piece of land purchased by Miss Sellon in 1867 as a playground for the Priory girls. On this in 1902 stood a small chapel, school rooms, and a cottage which had been built for an infirmary. It was held by trustees in England for the Society of the Holy Trinity, the Sisterhood which Miss Sellon founded.

With this Society correspondence was opened with a view to acquiring the land, as it was the purpose to erect new buildings for the Priory on the adjoining Robertson lot. The result of the negotiations was that in 1907, in consideration of suitable provision for Sisters Beatrice and Albertina, during their lives, the land was deeded to the Church in Hawaii. The transaction had to be passed upon by the English Charity Commissioners, and the parchment deed signed by several notable men aroused much interest here. It is interesting to notice that the land had once been held in trust for the Society by Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, who had taken great interest in the founding of the Priory.

When the new Priory was being built, it was seen that the playground would not be large enough, and the late W. G. Irwin was approached by Sister Albertina and Mrs. Restarick to see if he would give a piece of land which he owned, adjoining the lot recently acquired from the English Sisterhood. In 1909 he generously donated the land, but in the report made to Convocation it was published that the value of the lot had been entered on the books of the Corporation at $1,765, and Mr. Irwin seeing this, said that we placed little value on his gift. In 1911 the total worth of the Priory property was given by the Treasurer as $72,725.

The land on Emma Square contiguous to the Priory belonged to the B. P. Bishop Estate. Upon this there were three cottages and three small buildings used as residences. Fearing that this might get into the control of some one who might erect tenement houses overlooking the school,

and believing that it might prove suitable for the erection of a residence for a clergyman, I wrote to the late Charles R. Bishop, stating the case frankly. It being contrary to the general policy of the B. P. Bishop Estate to sell land, I suggested that he write the Trustees that he would like the Church to have it, and the result was that it was sold to the Church Corporation for $6,000.

In 1910 steps were taken towards purchasing or building a house for the Bishop. Among the properties investigated was the residence of the late James F. Morgan on the corner of Emma Square and Emma Street. It was judged to be unsuitable, but I believed with changes it could be used as a home for students and working girls, which was a need then in mind, and towards which I had collected $10,000. I had several conversations with Mr. Morgan who said that he was ill, and did not expect to live long, and that he did not wish his estate to be burdened with two leases which he held, one from the B. P. Bishop Estate and one from Governor A. S. Cleghorn. The revenue from the houses on the land did not pay rental, taxes, insurance, etc., and he would sell his residence for $16,000 if the Church would take the two leases off his hands, in which case he would charge nothing for the cottages which he had built. The Board of Directors closed with his offer, and, just at this time George B. Cluett of Troy, New York, sent me the money to buy the Morgan residence and to make necessary alterations, his total gift being $19,400. The value of the property was entered on the books of the Corporation as $16,000. By the consent of the donors of the $10,000 already on hand, this money was placed in an Endowment Fund for the Cluett House.

In looking for a site for the new St. Peter's Church in 1912, it was decided that the lot mauka of the Cluett House would be excellent, and by a gift of $14,000 from Stephen

A. Palmer, of New York, it was purchased from the B. P. Bishop Estate.

There was now only one piece of land on Emma Square which was not Church property and this belonged to the Cleghorn Estate. When Governor Cleghorn was alive I had approached him in regard to it and he said he could not give it but he would sell it for $10,000. At that time we were paying $900 a year ground rent. Not then being in a position to purchase it, a few years later, the Cluett House rented two of the cottages as an annex, but in 1919, as the lease was about to expire, it was deemed most advisable to buy it to protect our property from possible undesirable buildings. The lot was purchased from the Cleghorn Estate for $15,000, on which $7,000 was paid.

In September, 1920, I heard that it was now possible that the land in front of the Cathedral belonging to the John Cummins Estate might be purchased. I consulted the Board of Directors and other Church organizations, as well as many business men, Churchmen and others, as to the wisdom of buying it at the upset price of $60,000. Every Church organization and every one consulted urged its purchase and at the auction, which the law required, the Church was the only bidder. Those who would have bought it if the Church had not wanted it, absented themselves.

A Committee was appointed, by whose efforts and gifts made through me, about $30,000 was given by Island people, it being hoped that the interest on the balance would be secured by rents from the buildings on the property.

There was now held by the Church very valuable land almost in the heart of the city and yet secure from being shut in by high buildings.

The value of the Cathedral property, land and buildings as described, is given on the books as $432,000, but this, of course, is far less than its actual value, in fact it

does not represent the actual cost, and it does not take into account the value of the land given by Kamehameha IV nor the gift of Queen Emma of the lot on Emma Street for the first Chinese Church, now used by the Japanese for Trinity Mission, nor the many costly memorials added since 1902.

The Board of Directors gave its hearty approval to each acquisition of land, and to the plan which I had of making the Cathedral a strong center of Church work. There were some who would have favored the scattering of institutions, placing the Bishop's House elsewhere and the schools in the suburbs, but I held to the idea that institutions near the Cathedral ensured good attendance at Morning and Evening Prayer, and at 7 a. m. on Sundays, and that the attendance of children at the services was of great educational and religious value to them. Besides, the whole plant made a most favorable impression upon visitors, one of whom, a very prominent Churchman said: "There is no Diocese outside of New York City which has such an extensive and admirable group of institutions." Bishop McKim, after a survey, wrote the Board of Missions that Honolulu had the best equipment of any Missionary District known to him.

The actual cost of additions to the property contiguous to the Cathedral from August, 1902 to January 1, 1920, had been as follows:

Addition to the Cathedral	$ 27,500.00
Cathedral Organ	15,000.00
Lighting and seating Cathedral	2,000.00
Altar, Cathedral	1,500.00
Memorials (windows, carvings of pillars, tablets, etc.)	4,400.00
Alice Mackintosh Memorial Tower	35,000.00
Davies Memorial Hall	75,000.00

Iolani	22,000.00
Bishop's House	15,000.00
St. Andrew's Priory	75,000.00
Cluett House	19,000.00
Emma Square land	21,000.00
St. Peter's Church	36,000.00
	$348,400.00
Less indebtedness on land	16,804.25
	$331,595.75
Endowments added to Cathedral and surrounding institutions	67,750.00
TOTAL	$399,345.75

As to additions elsewhere in the period covered the list below gives the actual cost. The value today is very much larger.

St. Elizabeth's, Palama	$54,325.00
Epiphany, Kaimuki	8,950.00
St. Mark's, Kapahulu	3,250.00
St. Mary's, Moiliili	9,586.00
Rest House, Kahala	1,650.00
Holy Apostles, Hilo	9,000.00
Waimea, Hawaii	575.00
Kula, Maui	2,200.00
St. John Baptist, Kona	750.00
	$90,286.00

ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS:

Wailuku	$ 19,500.00
Lahaina	5,600.00
Kohala	1,000.00

Makapala	1,750.00
Christ Church, Kona	1,650.00
	$119,786.00
	399,345.75
Total	$519,131.75
Add to this St. Clement's property, conveyed to the incorporated parish after 1902	30,000.00
Grand Total	$549,131.75

This shows that there was added to Church property in 18 years an average of $30,500 a year. These figures take no account of the payment of $30,000 on the Beretania Street purchase, in the last year of my episcopate. A practical man has given a conservative estimate of the present value of lands and the present cost of erecting the buildings acquired between the years 1902-20 as being now $950,000.

In this connection it should be borne in mind that for several years following 1902 the times were not prosperous in Hawaii. The price of sugar was low and many plantations paid no dividends, and not a few were heavily in debt to the Factors. The people, however, had the desire to give, and when conditions improved, many large gifts were made by people in the Territory. All the endowment funds, except those for the Episcopal Endowment Fund and for the Rest House, were given by Island people, and these local gifts, on December 31, 1919, amounted to $64,223, out of the total of $76,823 received for endowments in the period covered.

It may be said here that, during the war and for two

years after, it was not an easy matter to obtain money for local Church purposes.

Since 1920 there have been losses in endowment funds amounting, it is believed, to about $18,000.

In the 18 years considered, there were erected or acquired in other ways the following:

Churches	10
Parsonages, two quite small	10
Houses (Emma Square, Priory, St. Elizabeth's, etc.)	35
School Houses	6
Settlement Houses	2
Parish Halls	3
Lodging House	1
Total	67

St. Clement's Church, parsonage and parish house are not included in the above, having been built before 1902.

In addition to the list given, two churches were enlarged and two parsonages remodeled.

The number of communicants increased steadily year by year after 1902. Bishop Willis, in 1901, reported 412, but two congregations were not counted. In November, 1902, the number was 720, and at the end of 1920 there were 2,194 actual communicants. The number of baptized members was about 5,000.

In the five schools, in 1902, there were about 220 pupils; in 1920, in 19 schools there were 1,045 enrolled.

The Lenten Sunday School offering was introduced in 1903, and the sum given was about $41. The Church Sunday Schools throughout the Islands took up the plan of the Lenten Offerings, so that they rapidly increased each year until, in 1919, the children gave $1,786, and the amount since then has been much larger.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL—MEMORIALS—THE TOWER—DAVIES MEMORIAL—OLD PRO-CATHEDRAL BISHOP'S HOUSE.

It was in the mind of Bishop Staley, and those in England interested in the Anglican Mission in Hawaii, to erect a Cathedral in Honolulu. The intention was to dedicate it to St. Peter, and the banner given to the Bishop in England had the mitre and cross keys embroidered upon it. This banner is still used in processions on festival occasions at the Cathedral.

When Kamehameha IV died on November 30, St. Andrew's Day, 1863, it was decided to make the Cathedral a memorial to him and to name the church after St. Andrew. In the building of the Cathedral, Queen Emma was deeply interested, and to further it, she sailed for England on May 6, 1865, on H. M. S. Clio by way of Panama, at Aspinwall taking the steamer Tasmania. She was accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Hoapili, C. G. Hopkins and two native girls who were to be educated in England. She arrived in London on July 14, and was everywhere received with kindly welcome, and everywhere she aroused sympathy in the object near her heart. She was assisted in her efforts by Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford, who accompanied her on her visits to various places, and in his life it is recorded that her energetic efforts and activities taxed his physical endurance.

She was the guest of Tennyson, the poet laureate, for three days at Farringford, Isle of Wight, the entry in Mrs. Tennyson's journal being as follows: "September 28, 1865, Queen Emma of the Sandwich Islands arrived,

ORIGINAL PLANS FOR ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL

Major Hopkins and a huge native, Mr. Hoapili, in attendance. Aunt Franklin came. The Queen's maid and her luggage lost on the road: they arrived at midnight. We had had a throne chair made out of our ilex wood. It was first used by the Queen. She, poor lady, wanted to stay quietly here, but she had to go to banquets, etc., about the Island. I collected money for the projected Cathedral at Honolulu—Mr. and Mrs. Hoapili sang Hawaiian songs. They sat on the ground and acted the song while they sang."

"October 3, Alfred gave the Queen two large magnolia blossoms on her leaving. She has an affectionate nature: something very pathetic about her."[1].

Queen Emma also visited the poet Keble, who presented her with an illuminated copy of his poems which is in the keeping of the Bishop of Honolulu.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking in 1866, said that in a conversation with Queen Emma, she had told him that it was with great anxiety of mind that she determined to make the voyage; not knowing how she might be received, her heart sank within her, but she felt amply repaid by the kind reception given her wherever she went. Further, the Archbishop said: "I was much struck with the cultivation of her mind, and I must state that she was better informed in English literature and history than most English ladies I meet. But what excited my interest most was her deep rooted piety, her almost saintly piety. For her sake we plead for the mission in those Islands."[2].

During the Queen's stay in England, through her efforts, six-thousand pounds were contributed to the Cathedral fund and to the support of the spiritual and educational work of the mission.

The architects selected were Messrs. Carpenter and

1 Tennyson. Harold Nicholson, 1923, p. 182.
2 Report of meeting held in London, July 12, 1867.

Slater of London, with whom B. F. Ingelow was associated. It was at first proposed to build it of lava and coral rock, plastered inside and out, highly decorated with color in the interior. This idea was abandoned and it was decided to send out the cut stone for the arches and windows from England and to use Island stone for the walls. The choir, as planned, was as we see it today, except that there were to be iron grilles between the pillars and a low iron screen at the choir entrance, beneath the chancel arch. The altar was to have been seven steps above the nave and to have over it a lofty baldachin of metal work. The clerestory windows were to have glass, but the aisle windows were to have movable glazed sashes and inside Venetian shutters. The boarding between the trusses of the roof was to be decorated with color. Under the sills of the clerestory windows was to run a string of ornamental terra cotta. The roof was to be tiled and there was to be a spirelet at the crossing of the nave and transcepts. A tower was to be erected where the present one stands, but it was to be surmounted by a spire. The plan, as prepared at first and as later modified, is early French gothic.

The corner stone was laid by Kamehameha V., on March 5, 1867. Among those present were many of the alii, the King's staff, the cabinet members, the British Commissioner Wodehouse and Justice and Mrs. G. M. Robertson. There were many from the Church schools and a number of students from Punahou. An inlaid brass tablet in the corner stone commemorates the event.

Work was commenced at once on the foundation of the choir and tower but all was stopped when Bishop Staley left for England. The cut stone for the choir had arrived from England in 1865 and lay in crates on the grounds for twenty years. In 1866 a Pro-Cathedral was built of wood on the church lot makai of the present Bishop's

House, and in this the congregation worshipped for twenty years, after which it was used for Sunday School and other purposes. Up to 1866 the services had been held in the Lyceum on Nuuanu Street.

Bishop Willis as early as 1874 wrote that he was more concerned about an endowment for the Bishopric than he was for the erection of the long delayed stone Cathedral. But year by year he expressed the hope that it might be soon commenced. The Rev. T. Blackburn of the Cathedral wrote in 1878 of the disadvantage the Church was under for lack of a dignified place of worship. In 1881 the Bishop reported that there was every prospect of the building being taken in hand in earnest. He had ascertained that an excellent stone had been found on the beach some distance from Honolulu. It had been proposed that the plans should be modified and the architects had been written to on the subject. There were laymen in Honolulu who believed that a modest brick church was all that was needed and these advocated selling the stone on hand to a church in British Columbia which was looking for material of that kind. Two laymen, Henry May and C. C. Harris, when in London, appeared before the Hawaiian Committee and stated that their opinion was in favor of a plain, inexpensive church.

It is fortunate that Bishop Willis was firm in the stand which he took for a building, as nearly as possible, like the original plans, altered by leaving out the transcepts in order to cut down the cost. We owe the beautiful Cathedral as it is to his persistence.

In 1881 much of the beach stone was brought down in schooners from beyond Barber's Point, and it was hoped that the columns and arches in the nave could be cut from it. Work was commenced on the walls in 1882.

In 1883 the idea of using Island stone for the columns,

arches and windows of the nave was abandoned and R. Lishman, a practical stone worker, went to England to procure the material required.

The changes from the original plans being accepted, work proceeded, with Mr. Lishman as contractor. Queen Emma deplored the change made from the original plans, but she did not live to see the choir completed though she was present when the key stone of the chancel arch was put in place. Her death occurred on April 25, 1885, and it was on Christmas Day, 1886, that the choir was finished and used for worship.

The altar was then against the east wall in the ambulatory, the floor of what is now the choir being then on the same level with that of the ambulatory.

In 1887 the Synod had its opening service in the Cathedral and the Bishop in his address spoke of it as marking a new era in the history of the Church in these Islands. It was a witness that the Anglican Church had a permanent hold and it was a witness also of the abiding character of the Church.

The Bishop had much trouble with the Building Committee, as related elsewhere, and this no doubt interfered with financial aid, for when the two bays were finished there was a debt of $7,180. By February, 1890, this had been reduced, but $3,746 was still due. Reduction was made from time to time by money received from the London Committee, from local fairs and sales of work and by the continuous efforts of Mrs. Abel Clark, who collected monthly subscriptions and gifts which seem to have averaged $50 a month.

In 1898 there was still owing the sum of $2,730, and Mr. Mackintosh in the Anglican Church Chronicle had written that it could easily have been paid by judicious

management and that the Second Congregation had given most of the money for the building of the Cathedral.

This led the Bishop to reply and in October, 1898, he published a report giving the sources from which money had been obtained. It appears that the report does not give the amount collected by Queen Emma and expended for the cut stone in England, the cost of its shipment to Honolulu and the sum paid for the foundations of the choir, tower and part of the nave in 1867-8 in Bishop Staley's time.

The report which follows is apparently what was spent under Bishop Willis, as in 1901 he gives the total cost at $85,000.

Subscriptions and donations	$24,112.22
Contributions from England	17,071.70
Fairs and sales of work	13,894.45
Bequests	7,093.08
Offertories	2,022.60
Interest	763.54
Sale of stone	37.50
	$64,995.09

This amount does not include the cost of the organ purchased in 1881 (now in St. Peter's Chinese Church) for which was paid $2,913.85, nor does it include the gifts of the font, lectern, etc. We see from the above that Bishop Willis received a large sum from England and does not count the amount received in Bishop Staley's time. It does not include the gift of Kamehameha IV of the land on which the Cathedral and the Bishop's House now stand. The Bishop states that towards the cost of the Cathedral the Second Congregation gave $11,000.

Before leaving Hawaii, Bishop Willis arranged the choir according to the plan of the architects. A new floor

and choir stalls were put in place, making the choir as it is today. The work was done by Fred Harrison under the direction of his foreman, James Finney.

In April 1902, there was still due on the original cost of the Cathedral $1,700, which Bishop Willis had personally advanced. He decided to consecrate the building as it then stood. In the United States a church can not be consecrated until the cost of its construction is paid. Bishop Willis took the view that there was no lien on the property. As a matter of law all the property of a corporation is liable for its debts, and if the sum of $1,700 was due to him by the corporation (as he afterwards claimed, and which was paid) then there was a lien on all the land and buildings owned by the Church Corporation.

The consecration, which occurred on March 9, 1902, was the occasion of an imposing function. The procession was headed by the cross bearer, Solomon Meheula, then followed the surpliced choirs of boys and men of St. Peter's and the Cathedral, and representatives of St. Peter's congregation. Then came Messrs. Luke Aseu and Henry Smith, R. Lishman and James Finney, Palmer Woods and Curtis P. Iaukea, James H. Boyd and A. S. Cleghorn, Princes David Kawananakoa and Jonah Kalanianaole, Canon Ault, Dean Kitcat, Canon Weymouth, Chaplains Kong Yin Tet and Frank Fitz, with pastoral staff, the Bishop, and the Registrar of the Diocese.

The Bishop said it was the finest service ever held in the Cathedral. It lasted over three hours. The sermon by the Bishop told of the gradual building of Cathedrals, their construction often going on at intervals for centuries. He said the Cathedral stood for faith in the permanence of the Church.

On April 1, 1902, the Bishop of California, in the

Cathedral, formally received the Anglican Church in Hawaii as a part of the Church in the United States.

On my arrival, as the first American Bishop of Honolulu, the Cathedral was found to be in sad need of repairs. The joints of the gutters had come apart and water had run down the inside walls in a dozen places, leaving iron rust stains on the plaster. I at once had these repaired, using money which had been given me by friends in the States to be expended at my discretion. When this was done the people saw that there was to be progress and a general interest in improvements was the result.

The building was lighted by oil lamps on the sides and by two large chandeliers. The lamps would often be blown out when a strong gust of wind came along, leaving a disagreeable odor of smoke, and the necessity of relighting.

This matter was soon taken up by the Woman's Guild, who, with the consent of the Chapter, installed electric lights at a cost of $1,000.

The seats in the nave were in part those which had been used in the old Pro-Cathedral and there were several other kinds from various sources. Many were worm eaten and unsafe. The Guild offered to replace them, and in a few months the new, substantial ones were in use as they are today.

There were many signs of indifference as to the general appearance and upkeep of the Cathedral, outside and in, but suggestions from the laity had not been encouraged, and this led to lack of interest on their part. The altar particularly needed attention.

Mrs. Restarick, who had been for years in charge of work connected with the sanctuary and the care of vestments in St. Paul's parish and its missions in San Diego, soon interested the Guild in the condition of the altar furnishings, stoles and other properties of that order. She

proposed that they undertake the putting in of a handsome stone altar in keeping with the dignified architecture of the beautiful Cathedral. The old, temporary altar was a rude structure, but it was covered with beautifully embroidered frontals which had been brought home by Queen Emma from Europe, and of which great care had been taken. They are still in use upon the old altar in the chapel in the ambulatory.

The retable of the old altar was on a trestle behind it, because it was not legal in England to place the ornaments, lights and flowers on the altar itself. This was changed and the retable was made a part of the altar in accordance with general American usage.

Up to the time of the arrival of the American Bishop, no woman had been allowed to enter the sanctuary, and this probably accounted for the conditions found there.

Soon after my arrival I broached the subject of the extension of the Cathedral by the addition of two more bays to the nave, but made it clear to the vestry that the $1,700, due Bishop Willis must first be paid. There were objectors to this, but they were finally won over and notices were sent out at the beginning of Lent, that the Easter offering would be for that purpose. Some predicted that it would not be $100.

During Lent 1903 I wrote personal letters to many members of the congregation, putting the question before them and asking their aid. They were dated ahead and mailed with enclosed envelopes in Holy Week. On Easter Day the offering was $1,500, and the people were so surprised that next day a gift of $100, and other lesser ones made up the amount and the debt was paid.

The way now being clear, steps were taken in preparation for the work of building. The question of stone for the windows and arches was considered. Robert Catton,

the Senior Warden, intending to go to the mainland, was authorized to select suitable material. He consulted E. A. P. Newcomb, an architect, then in the Eastern States, and a stone of the right color was found but later it was ascertained that pieces of sufficient size could not be obtained for the pillars. It was then that Robert Rycroft said he believed that a ledge of sufficient thickness could be found on some beach on Oahu. George P. Denison investigated the matter and found it and supervised the quarrying and freighting by rail to Honolulu.

The Building Committee consisted of T. Clive Davies, George P. Denison and Robert Catton, an excellent committee, which gave serious thought and much time to everything connected with the project.

As Easter 1904 approached, every effort was quietly made to obtain a large Easter offering for the Building Fund. No subscription paper was circulated, the only solicitation being by letters as on the previous Easter. Everybody was interested, the spirit of giving was aroused and the Easter offering was found to be nearly $10,000. What individuals gave, then or later on, was never known, except those gifts sent direct to the Bishop from men of the old missionary families, and others.

The people had been told that while money to aid the missionary work of the Islands would be solicited from friends on the mainland, money for the Cathedral must be given by people in Hawaii. On three subsequent Easters large offerings were made to the Fund. The Committee selected Fred Harrison for the work and James Finney acted as foreman.

The first stone of the addition was laid on November 23, 1906. A large number of persons were present who had known the Cathedral from its beginning, among whom were: Miss Lucy Peabody, Mrs. G. M. Robertson, Mrs.

F. S. Bickerton, Governor Cleghorn, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Rycroft, W. W. Hall and W. R. Castle. After a brief service, the stone was put in place and the Bishop spoke a few words. He then called on Canon Mackintosh, who had lived in Honolulu since 1869. T. Clive Davies of the Building Committee, whose father had been on the first Building Committee, said it was a privilege to have a part in this building, but we must remember that it is our part, not only to build this Church, but to build up the Christian life in these Islands.

The Bishop said that he saw the son of an old missionary present, and called on W. R. Castle to speak. Mr. Castle recalled the day when, as a youth, he attended the laying of the corner stone in 1867, as one of a delegation from Punahou. He remembered the illustrious persons who were then present: King Kamehameha V, Queen Emma, Lunalilo, Kekuanaoa (father of Kamehameha IV and V), Kanaina (father of Lunalilo), Princess Lydia Liliuokalani and Bernice Pauahi Bishop. These had passed away, but this building which stands for Christ's religion remains. He said: "I am glad to be here and to see the advancement made. This building stands for the permanence of the religion of Jesus Christ."

The stone was cut on the Cathedral grounds by Portuguese and Hawaiian workmen. Much consideration was given to the proper design for a suitable temporary west end, which resulted in the completion of that portion as it now appears.

During construction, services continued in the church as usual, except that those on week days during Lent were held in St. Peter's.

In May, 1908, the building, as planned, was finished, the Guild paying for the additional pews. The Convocation of 1908 met in the enlarged Cathedral and in the Annual

Address of the Bishop, on May 31, mention was made of what was due to Bishop Willis and those who had part in the building of the choir and the two bays of the nave, and the difficulties with which they had to contend. The opportunities for memorials were referred to and the cost of the extension, including lighting and seating was given as $27,000 with $2,700 yet to be met.

When the address was concluded, L. Tenny Peck handed the Bishop a note which briefly stated: "Some of your friends have subscribed $2,700 and there is no longer any debt." The note was read to the congregation, whereupon the people arose and sang the doxology.

Every one rejoiced on that day, not only because of the finished addition but because of the great advance the Island Church had made during that year, which included the Davies Memorial Building, then under construction, and the beautiful stone altar which was in place. Caen stone had been chosen for the altar to match the font, which had been moved at this time from the west door to the south entrance. As related before, it was sent out from England to be used at the baptism of the little prince of Hawaii, the son of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, who, to the grief of all, died just before the Bishop landed. In it many were baptized, who, as fathers and mothers brought their children to the same font, or have been present when their grandchildren were received into Christ's Church. When the Pro-Cathedral was built, it was placed on the epistle side near the entrance.

THE ALTAR.

As early as 1903, Mrs. Restarick had commenced to receive gifts for the stone altar from those who had worshipped at the Cathedral and from friends and societies in the States.

Correspondence was entered into regarding plans for the altar and the design of Francis R. Allen of Boston

was selected. The Cathedral Chapter having given its approval, the work was executed by Evans & Co., of Boston, at a cost of $1,500. It was dedicated on May 28, Ascension Day, 1908. Soon after this, a handsome font cover of oak and brass was given by Mrs. Bernice Pauahi Walbridge in memory of her little son Russell.

The Consecration of the addition to the Cathedral took place on July 19, when a historical sermon was preached by the Bishop. There were present several who had witnessed the laying of the corner stone in 1867.

The dignity and beauty of the interior of the Cathedral is universally admired. An English architect and artist who had lived long in Italy, was here for some time in 1909. He used to sit in the Cathedral for a while day after day. He said: "You people do not realize what a gem in architecture you have here, its proportions, its lines and its simplicity impress me greatly."

THE PULPIT.

Mrs. Alice Mackintosh died in Dresden on August 24, 1904. In the American Church in Dresden there was a pulpit which she greatly admired, and expressed a strong desire to have one of like design in St. Andrew's Cathedral. Mrs. Mackintosh had come to the Islands when a young child and had been connected with the Cathedral from the beginning. To her loving sympathy, wisdom and tact was due, in large degree, the keeping together of the Second Congregation. At her home, Sunnyside, young men were given a welcome, the troubled found a refuge, and at times it was a hostel for the sick and aged. She was beloved by rich and poor alike. Her son by her first marriage, H. M. von Holt, determined to carry out his mother's wishes about the pulpit, and in this he was joined by her other children: Mrs. Bertha Glade, Miss Marie von Holt, Arthur Mackintosh, the Rev. Aeneas Mackintosh, and her

brothers Cecil and Godfrey Brown. The result was the beautiful pulpit of Caen stone, the work of the same firm in Boston by which the altar was made. This was made possible by the kindness of Mr. Harry Mist, formerly of Honolulu, then a resident of Dresden, whose drawings of the Dresden pulpit enabled Evans & Co. to make a replica of it, substituting the figure of St. Andrew for that of St. John in the original. The inscription states that it is in memory of Thomas and Mary Ann Brown and to their only daughter Alice, erected by their children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. It was put in place in 1913. Thomas Brown had been Registrar General of the Kingdom for thirty years prior to his death.

THE ORGAN.

One day a gentleman called on the Bishop and told him that he wished to give $5,000 towards a new organ and a like sum towards an endowment fund for the organist's salary. The fund for a new organ had been started some time before this and had been increased by offertories and from other sources. In 1911 Reginald Carter from Wells, England, became organist and he wrote to the organist of Wells Cathedral for advice as to specifications, etc. Hilgreen and Lane of Akron, Ohio, were selected as the builders and the organ complete with mahogany case (obtained later) cost about $15,000. It was used first on Easter Day, 1914. The builders say that at present prices, it could not be duplicated for $30,000. The Cathedral Vestry gave the old organ to the new St. Peter's Church with several hundred dollars towards its reconstruction. This organ had been purchased in Boston in 1881, and Wray Taylor, who had come out to install it, remained as organist until 1904. In a letter from Queen Emma to Mr. Nahaolelua, dated November 1, 1881, she tells of Mr. Taylor giving a toy symphony in the new Music Hall

for the benefit of the organ fund. She writes: "You would not think so much music could be obtained from toy trumpets, rattles, cymbals, triangles, etc." Mr. Taylor was a public spirited man. He married a Hawaiian of high rank whom Miss Sellon had taken to be educated in England. He was succeeded by Gerard Barton, R. R. Bode, Reginald Carter and, in 1914, Mr. Bode became organist again. Miss Emily Taylor, (now Mrs. L. Straus) and Joseph Yap have been efficient supplies at various times.

MEMORIALS.

The Cathedral is rich in memorials. In addition to those mentioned, there are the following:

The brass eagle lectern, given by the Rev. Tatton Brockman of Oriel College, Oxford.

The brass altar desk, by John Sugars, 1862.

The Litany Desk, in memory of George Robert Hope, Captain Royal Navy, who died in Honolulu, 1882.

The silver gilt communion set, the gift of Mrs. Fairbanks, Chicago, in memory of Dr. James De Koven.

The carving of the capitals of the chancel pillars, beginning on the north side, is in memory of the following persons: Herman J. F. von Holt, Gerard Barton (organist), Bishop T. N. Staley, Elizabeth Lawrence, Robert Creighton Wyllie, George Morison Robertson (the last two were the first persons confirmed by Bishop Staley other than the King and Queen), Sarah Humphries Robertson (member of the Cathedral for 57 years), Alice Marguerite Rycroft, (choir member), George Wray Taylor, (organist).

The candelabra were given by Mrs. E. D. Tenney in memory of her father, James Makee. She has

INTERIOR OF ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL

also given an endowment of $2,000, the interest of which is to supply the candles.

The pair of brass altar vases are a thank offering by Andrew Catton.

The two large American flags are memorials to Dr. William Levi Moore, a communicant of the Cathedral given by his widow and children.

The Pastoral Staff was a gift to Bishop Staley for himself and his successors.

There are stalls for four Canons in the Choir. They are named: Iolani, Poomaikelani, Kaiulani and Kaleleonalani. This last was a name used by Queen Emma when she signed letters to those for whom she had a personal regard. She was never addressed by that name. When the Prince of Hawaii died she gave herself the name of Kaleleokalani, (the chief has fled). When her husband, Kamehameha IV, died she changed this to Kaleleonalani (the chiefs have fled).

Three of the stalls have a small endowment.

THE WINDOWS.

It is most fortunate that the glass for the windows has all been made by one firm, Clayton & Bell, London, which has insured uniformity in color and design. Further, they follow a pre-arranged plan and form a connected series. In many churches this is not the case and, being made by different firms, there is no harmony or connected treatment. Those on the north side illustrate Old Testament subjects; In the ambulatory, each pair represents a prophetic type and its fulfillment in the life of our Lord; on the south side are pictured events in His life. They are all gifts or memorials.

Beginning at the west end of the north side, the first window is in memory of Sister Beatrice. The next

pair is in memory of Theophilus Harris Davies, followed by the two commemorating Captain Henry Wentworth Mist, R. N. The first in the ambulatory is a single window in memory of Annie Josephine Purvis; then a pair, one being to the memory of Mary C. Cartwright, and its companion, the gift of the Cathedral Sunday School. The next two were erected as a thank-offering by Theo. H. Davies for the recovery of his wife after a long illness; the central pair is in memory of the Prince of Hawaii and his mother, Queen Emma; the first of the next pair is a memorial to Princess Likelike, its companion being a gift from her daughter, the Princess Kaiulani; the following pair is in memory of Prince Edward and Bernice Pauahi Bishop; then comes a single one given by the Sisters of the Society of the Holy Trinity. We now come to the first pair in the nave, one to the memory of two officers who were lost with the Vandalia, at Apia, Samoa: Captain Schoonmaker and Paymaster Arms, and the other, to Captain Jasper Nichols, R. N., who died on H. M. S. Cormorant; the first of the next two was erected by Queen Liliuokalani in memory of her husband, John Owen Dominis, and the other by A. S. Cleghorn for his daughter, Princess Kaiulani; (the Queen and Mr. Cleghorn were present when these windows were dedicated. Her Majesty was quite feeble and sat in a chair in the aisle during service.) The first of the next pair was given by Fannie S. Bickerton, and the other is to the memory of Jane Elizabeth Myers, a pioneer Churchwoman of Oregon who died on Kauai; the next two are memorials to the Rev. Abel Clark and his wife Caroline, devout and faithful workers for Christ and His Church.

The windows in the clerestory, beginning at the left, one is in memory of David Center; the middle one, a gift of the pupils of St. Andrew's Priory; and the one

on the right, a memorial to the Rev. John Lane, curate of the Cathedral, who died in 1899.

THE TABLETS.

The fine large bronze tablet on the north side is a replica of one in Appleton Chapel, Harvard University, erected to the memory of Walter Remsen Brinckerhoff, M. D., who had been sent to Hawaii by the United States Government to investigate leprosy, and was President of the Church Club, Honolulu. The other tablet on that side is in memory of Henry May, given by his adopted daughter, Mrs. B. A. Henderson.

On the south side nearest the font is one in memory of Thomas Rain Walker, one time Choir Master and Warden of the Cathedral, erected by his widow. The next one is a memorial to Alicia Tait Hawes Hatch, by her husband. These two beautiful mosaics were executed by a firm in London. In the ambulatory is a tablet of marble to the memory of Bishop Staley, erected by relatives and friends, through the efforts of Mrs. Restarick, who has also undertaken to place a similar one for Bishop Willis in the adjoining space.

In order to have the list of windows and tablets complete, it has been brought up to date.

THE TOWER.

After the death of Mrs. Alice Mackintosh, people began considering a suitable memorial and many suggestions were made. At first the Bishop suggested a Parish House, but the Davies Memorial Building supplying that need, it was proposed to build a tower as an appropriate monument, typifying her character and work, and at the same time carrying out the original design of the architect for the building she loved.

At a parish meeting it was decided to erect the tower, and, as many in the community had expressed their

interest, a representative committee was appointed, consisting of T. Clive Davies, Samuel M. Damon, Robert Catton, A. L. C. Atkinson and Paul Isenberg, all of whom were warm friends of Mrs. Mackintosh.

Money came from England, Germany and other lands, from former Island residents who loved her and revered her memory, and Island people subscribed generously.

B. F. Ingelow, one of the original architects, prepared the plans for the tower, which was to be of Island stone. The contractor was Matsumoto, and the superintendent, Walter L. Emory. Its cost was $35,000, but at present prices it could not be erected for twice that sum.

It was dedicated on Trinity Sunday, June 2, 1912. That year marked the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Anglican Church in Hawaii, and Bishop and Mrs. Willis were invited to come from Tonga for the Jubilee celebration. They were given a cordial welcome by all and during their stay they were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. T. Clive Davies, Bishop and Mrs. Restarick, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Smith.

At the dedication, after an appropriate service, addresses were delivered. Judge Dole was deeply moved as he spoke of Alice Mackintosh and referred to the memorial service held when the news of her death was received in September, 1904, when the Cathedral was crowded with people ol all walks of life and of every religious persuasion. The public feeling was unanimous in favoring a permanent memorial. He said: "The question of the form this should take was happily settled in favor of the tower, a permanent monument to her memory and to the imperishable ideals personified in her."

H. M. von Holt, the eldest son of Alice Mackintosh, had prepared a paper, which was read in his unavoidable absence by his brother, Arthur Mackintosh. In it he said: "I wish to voice my appreciation of the opportunity thus

afforded the family of my mother, of blessed memory, to express their gratification at the completion of this magnificent memorial, which, I assure you, is a most satisfactory one. . . . Nothing could have pleased us more than the choice of this memorial." He then thanked the donors for their generous gifts, the committee, for the trust so well carried out, and the Bishop for his interest from the first conception of the idea until its realization.

Acting Governor E. A. Mott-Smith, who, with Judge Dole, had known Mrs. Mackintosh intimately, after paying a beautiful tribute to her, said: "The lofty tower, with its column on column, its graceful and stately architecture, is the material symbol of her life. The everlasting symbol is to be in the hearts of those who come to its base to learn of the good works, the devoted life and noble character of a good woman."

Bishop Nichols wrote, after receiving a picture of the tower: "It seems to embody traits of strength and attractiveness which characterized dear Mrs. Mackintosh herself."

In the Vestry room in the tower a bronze tablet bears the following inscription:

AS A MEMORIAL TO
ALICE MACKINTOSH
AND AS A THANKSGIVING TO
GOD
FOR THE LOVE AND FAITH WHICH
SHE SHOWED FORTH IN HER LIFE
THIS TOWER
HAS BEEN ERECTED BY HER FRIENDS
OF MANY RACES IN THIS COMMUNITY.
1912.

The old bell, weighing 600 pounds, which had been obtained in England, and had hung in the Pro-Cathedral

since September, 1875, (37 years) was removed to the Memorial Tower in due time. A fund for chimes was started some years ago by an aged Churchwoman, Mrs. Barnard.

The desire to complete the Cathedral was in the minds of many, and later, while in England, T. Clive Davies had plans made by Mr. Ingelow for the completion of the west end which included two additional bays, a baptistry and a morning chapel. Mr. Davies presented these plans to the Cathedral authorities. It was a notable gift and it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when the work will be carried forward.

THE DAVIES MEMORIAL BUILDING.

In 1902 the old Pro-Cathedral was in wretched condition. The flooring was in bad shape and the interior walls and roof were much discolored. In August the floor was repaired and the interior whitewashed, which greatly improved its appearance. It was used by the Sunday School and during the week by Iolani School.

There was a movement on foot to raise money for a more suitable building for meetings and Church work, but little had been obtained. At this time the land on which the Davies Memorial now stands, was the property of two different owners. The lot on the corner of Emma Square and Emma Street had upon it a small residence, and the adjoining lot, extending makai to the Emma Street entrance to the Cathedral grounds, was occupied by the California Hotel, the outbuildings of which extended to within a few feet of the present tower. On the makai side of this lot was a row of shacks which began a few feet from the Cathedral and extended to the Emma Street entrance along the line of the present cement sidewalk.

When a site for Iolani School was being considered, it was suggested that this property be purchased, but upon

ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL, HONOLULU, AND DAVIES MEMORIAL BUILDING

inquiries being made, it was found that the entire corner had been bought by an unknown person. It was not known until some time afterwards that the Davies family were the purchasers, and then the Bishop was confidentially informed of the plans for a Parish House as a memorial to the late Theophilus Harris Davies.

On November 23, 1906, a letter was received from T. Clive Davies representing the family, making the offer to erect the memorial and to deed the property to the Church Corporation. The Board of Trustees having gratefully accepted the proffered gift, on May 9, 1906, the corner stone was laid by Her Majesty, Queen Liliuokalani, and Mr. T. Clive Davies made an appropriate address.

E. A. P. Newcomb had drawn plans but they were later revised by B. F. Ingelow, the London architect of the Cathedral.

On Whitsunday 1909, the Memorial Building was dedicated and the bronze memorial tablet, a bas-relief medallion of the late Theophilus Harris Davies, who had entered into Rest eleven years before, was unveiled. On this occasion George F. Davies made an address, in which he told of the careful consideration the family had given as to the form the memorial should take, and when a decision was made, it took much time to acquire the land and prepare plans. The electric fixtures, locks and hinges, as well as the chairs for the Hall, had been obtained in England. He desired that credit be given his brother T. Clive Davies, who had managed the transactions, and to Walter L. Emory, who had given careful supervision to the work of construction. The one to whose memory the building and land were given, was greatly interested in young people and Mr. Davies felt that he would have approved of the form this memorial had taken.

The building is of Island stone and is connected with the tower by an attractive cloister. It contains the large,

handsome Hall, a Guild room, a room for men's meetings and an office for the Vicar. The basement contains a kitchen and store room. The building, completely furnished, was a magnificent gift and a greatly needed addition to the Cathedral plant, and the added grounds were a fine improvement to the Cathedral Close.

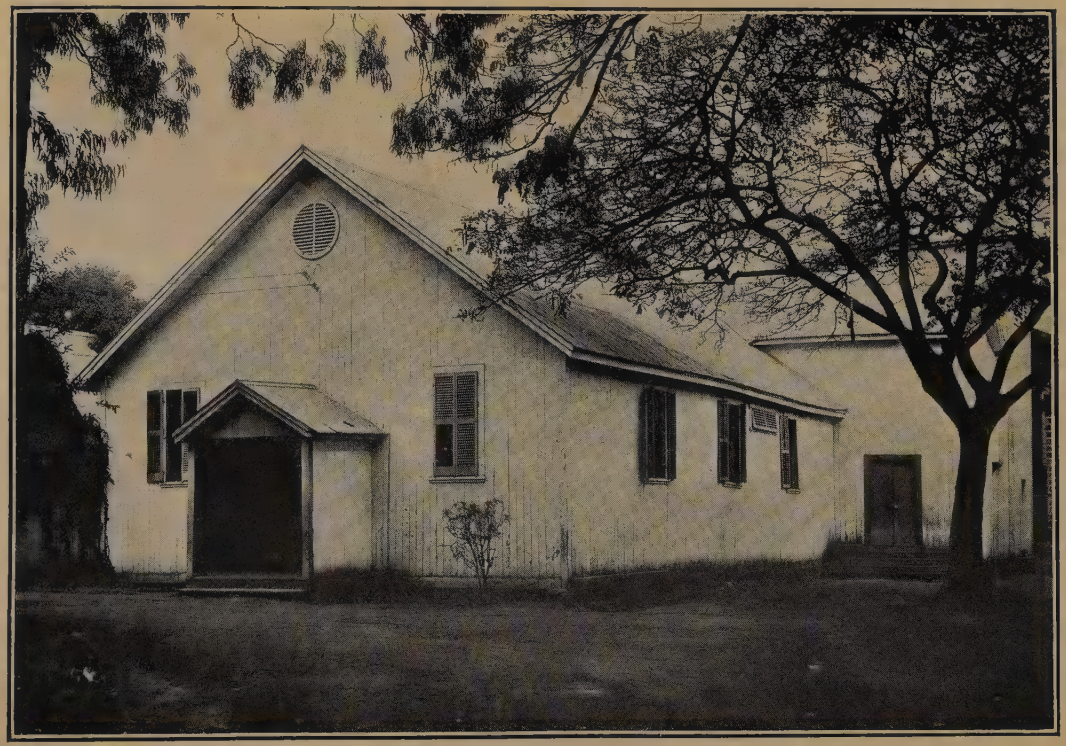
THE OLD PRO-CATHEDRAL.

When the Davies Memorial Building was erected, a part of the agreement with the donors was that the wooden building known as the Pro-Cathedral was to be torn down. It had stood since 1866 and was used for services until Christmas Day 1886, and for Sunday School purposes after that time.

The early life of many Church people in Hawaii was associated with it. Here Queen Emma had been a regular attendant at the Hawaiian services held at 9:30 a. m., and 4 p. m. Here David Kalakaua acted as interpreter and when he could not be present, Hiram Elelule, the husband of Poomaikalani took his place. When Bishop Staley left in 1870, the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh took charge of the Hawaiian services, and, as he wrote his sermons in Hawaiian, Kalakaua would come to his house and correct them and hear them read.

At the English services at 11 a. m., and 7:30 p. m., among those who worshipped regularly, there were, Theo. H. Davies, Henry May, Thomas Brown (the father of Mrs. Mackintosh), the McKibbons, Judge Robertson, Captain Luce, T. R. Walker, Tom May. The last three sang in the choir and for many years Alatau T. Atkinson was organist.

When Kalakaua was elected in 1874 and some of the Queen Emma faction were in jail, word was sent to Nahaolelua that an attempt was to be made on the life of the Queen on a certain day at midnight. She said that



THE PRO-CATHEDRAL
Erected 1866, torn down 1909

she did not believe it, but her friends insisted that she leave her house on the corner of Beretania and Nuuanu Streets and go to St. Andrew's Priory and stay with Sister Bertha for the night. Word was sent to Mr. Wodehouse, the British Commissioner, who went to the King and told him of the report.

Queen Emma passed the night in the parlor of the Priory which was just inside the gate and close to the Pro-Cathedral. Under this building a number of faithful men hid, so as to be ready in case of need. In order to avert suspicion the Rev. Mr. Dunn decorated the Cathedral grounds with lanterns, as Kalakaua had returned that day from a tour of Oahu and there was a procession in his honor.

Sister Bertha and a Hawaiian lady-in-waiting kept watch over the Queen while she slept. She awoke about 2 a. m., and asked the time. When told, she said quietly: "Thank God." The midnight hour had passed and no disturbance had taken place.

Inside the Priory gate was a small building attached to the Pro-Cathedral which originally opened into it. Here the Sisters and girls sat during the services, not seen by the congregation, but they were able to see the clergyman and the choir. This little house, after 1902, was used by Miss Teggart as her office.

The old building had many memories for the older Church people of Honolulu, some sacred and some amusing. Men now fathers of families have told me how, as small children, they used to watch the rats run across the timbers of the roof, a diversion which afforded some relief from the tediousness of the sermon. Here many now living were baptized, confirmed or married, and from it many were taken to the last resting place for their bodies.

When the Chinese day school was started, the eastern portion of the building was used as a school room, and

after Bishop Willis left, the other portion was used to house the remnant of Iolani School until the Armstrong property was purchased in 1905. In the summer of 1909 the old structure was torn down and the grounds put in order making them an attractive addition to the Cathedral Close.

THE BISHOP'S HOUSE.

Bishop Staley lived in a rented house on Nuuanu avenue, and Bishop Willis had an unpretentious home of his own on Bates Street, on the same land with the buildings of Iolani School, where he lived until he left Honolulu. All of this was his own property.

The American Bishop had to rent a house, and as the salary of a Missionary Bishop was then much smaller than it is now, it placed a heavy burden upon him until the Cathedral parish assumed it for a time. Later, the rent was paid by the interest of the Episcopate Endowment Fund.

The Bishop's family lived for three years in one of the houses now known as The Donna, on Beretania Street, until gifts from the mainland enabled the Bishop to purchase, for $6,000, Mrs. G. M. Robertson's home in Emma Square. The house was very old, but after expending $1,000 in repairs, the family lived in it for three years, when it was torn down in September 1908, to make way for the new St. Andrew's Priory, the front portion of which now occupies the land on which it stood. The best material from the old house was used for cottages at St. Elizabeth's Mission Settlement.

In making a third move the Bishop was fortunate in being able to rent a house not far from the Cathedral, on Vineyard Street, known as Engleside, where he housed his family for another three years.

In 1910 efforts were made to procure funds for a

BISHOP'S HOUSE, EMMA SQUARE

Bishop's House. At first it was thought that a house might be purchased, but the Bishop believed that it should be near the Cathedral, as is usually the case in the United States, when it is feasible. His wishes prevailed and the old Priory site was decided upon. Some money was obtained by gifts and Easter offerings, and Charles R. Dickey, the architect for the Priory, was selected to draw the plans, the details of which, however, were drawn by the local contractors, the supervising architect being Walter L. Emory. The result was that in November, 1911, the residence was ready for occupancy.

The Bishop's House was constructed of metal lath and cement plaster to harmonize in appearance with the Priory exterior, though the latter is of reinforced concrete. Its cost with extras and outbuildings complete was over $15,000, and not having sufficient money on hand to meet the entire cost, the Board of Directors of the Church Corporation decided to use the interest on the Bishopric Endowment Fund to pay the interest on the $8,000 it was necessary to borrow. This debt was reduced to $4,500 by 1916, by gifts made to the Bishop.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE HAWAIIAN CONGREGATION—ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL.

When the Bishop of California, representing the Presiding Bishop of the American Church, took over the jurisdiction of the Anglican Church in Hawaii, he wisely ignored all past differences and appointed the priest who had been officiating for the Second Congregation and the one who had charge of the Bishop's Cathedral Congregation, as Cathedral clergy. Canons Mackintosh and Kitcat were to officiate alternately at the Cathedral services under the Dean, that is, under Bishop Nichols, who had appointed himself to that office, acting according to the Cathedral Statutes.

Provision was made for services in Hawaiian at 9 a. m., every Sunday. Canon Kitcat celebrated the Holy Communion once each month, at 6 a. m., and the Rev. Frank Fitz, a deacon, conducted the other services.

This arrangement I found on my arrival on August 8, 1902, and continued it. The Hawaiians who worshipped at the Cathedral desired to be organized, so that they might have a priest and pastor of their own. After careful consideration the Hawaiian Congregation was organized as a mission, according to the Canons which had been selected for use in the Missionary District of Honolulu, and their choice of officers was ratified by me. The Mission Committee consisted of F. J. Testa, Warden, E. Stiles, Treasurer, Charles Notley, Clerk. The congregation was given the right of using the Cathedral at hours appointed by the Dean.

Looking back, I am sure that this was the only way open to keep the Hawaiian Church people from slipping

away from attendance at worship. The arrangement under Bishop Willis of having services in Hawaiian on Sundays at 3 p. m., and once a month a celebration of the Holy Communion at 6 a. m., had not been successful. The attendance at these services had been most meager. There had been some Hawaiians who had attached themselves to the Second Congregation, and some attended the Bishop's services but there was no special work done among them.

The Hawaiians in 1902 were of course welcome at any Cathedral services but they wished to have their own organization. The result has shown that the plan followed was a good one, as year by year the Hawaiian Congregation has grown in the number of communicants and in pledges, offerings and endowments.

In 1902 there were about 50 communicants who were attached to the new mission; in 1903, 68 and in 1906, 85. In 1903 the total income was $217; in 1906, it was $1,027.

Queen Liliuokalani was a regular worshiper at the Hawaiian services and encouraged others to attend. When a Guild was organized she became its president and continued in that office for several years. She arranged the music for the Communion Office, adapting Merbecke's famous setting published in 1550, and Solomon Meheula printed copies on a mimeograph and bound them for use of the choir and congregation. The Sanctus and Agnus Dei sung by the Hawaiian choir are certainly devotional and beautiful.

The interest of the Queen in the worship and work of the Hawaiian Congregation was helpful in keeping the people together and led to the Confirmation of Prince Kalanianaole and his wife.

It must be remembered that this was but a short time after the Annexation of Hawaii to the United States, and that those who attended the Hawaiian service still felt keenly, as was natural, the political changes which had been

brought about. However they might outwardly hide what was in their hearts, feeling of course existed. With very few exceptions the Hawaiians were kindly and considerate in their treatment of the American Bishop. Any exception would not be noted here, if it were not necessary to illustrate some of the difficulties of those early years. There was a paper published at that time which was anti-haole and anti-American. Its editor was a member of the Hawaiian Congregation. Of course the new American Bishop came in for his share of criticism. When I was told of any hostile articles, those who reported them were assured that I never read them and could not, and certainly would not, take any notice of them. I felt no resentment and was only surprised that matters were no worse than they were. A year after my arrival one of the leading Hawaiians said to me: "I could not have believed that bad feelings would have died down so soon."

Justly or unjustly the Hawaiian Congregation was then judged to be a center of anti-haole and anti-American feeling, and also that the priest in charge encouraged these sentiments to such an extent that it was felt that a change was desirable. When this was known a meeting was held which was largely attended, many present having little or no connection with the Church. Of course this Church trouble made good stories for the newspapers which amused some and annoyed others.

The Queen came twice to my residence and pleaded for the priest, but I considered it best to ask for his resignation which went into effect on June 30, 1906. The Rev. Canon Ault was appointed to take charge of the Hawaiian Congregation until the Rev. E. T. Simpson, the new appointee, arrived.

It must be said that the people of the congregation behaved very well and Mr. Simpson was cordially received and the work went on showing gradual improvement.

Mr. Simpson was soon made a Canon. He was liked personally and his sermons and addresses attracted many among the white people to whom he frequently ministered as well as to those in his special charge. Services at 9 a. m., were in Hawaiian, Solomon Meheula or Edmund Stiles reading the lessons and interpreting the sermon.

It was during Canon Simpson's time that mission work was begun at Kapahulu, largely among Hawaiians. It was also at this time that an Island Churchman, who had contributed generously to the salary of Canon Simpson, gave $10,000, towards the endowment of the Hawaiian pastorate. At first he thought to stipulate that services in Hawaiian were to be held at least on stated occasions, but after more careful consideration the money was given without this condition. This was wise because it was already evident that the younger generation of Hawaiians did not know sufficient of the language to understand the sermon or to take an intelligent part in the service when in Hawaiian.

The Hawaiian communicants increased so that in 1910 they were reported as numbering 198, but it must be said that most of these were very irregular in attendance at Church and the congregations were small.

The societies of the mission included the Ahahui Iolani, the Woman's Auxiliary, the Junior Auxiliary and Young People's Club, all of which were quite active. The Princess Kalanianaole did good service in the Guild (Ahahui Iolani).

Canon Simpson resigned on June 18, 1910, and the Rev. Leopold Kroll, then at Lahaina, was at once appointed to his place. During Mr. Kroll's incumbency the Woman's Guild and both branches of the Woman's Auxiliary did a largely increased work. The Junior Auxiliary was for several years the banner branch of the Missionary District, supporting scholarships at the Priory and Iolani

and giving generously to General and District Missions. The Guild worked for an endowment fund for the maintenance of the priest of the congregation and accumulated $1,750.

Mr. Kroll's work in connection with St. Mark's, Kapahulu, is told elsewhere. During his time the Hawaiian language was largely discontinued in the services but in portions of the Communion Office it was retained. The sermons were no longer interpreted into Hawaiian, the reason of the change being that all of the congregation understood English.

The pledges and offerings increased year by year so that in 1919, when Mr. Kroll left, the communicants had grown from 68 in 1903, to 267 in 1919, and the offerings from $217 to $1,640. Certainly no such growth would have occurred if the Hawaiian Congregation had not been organized, indeed there would have been very few Hawaiians left at the Cathedral.

After Mr. Kroll left, services were maintained by Bishop Restarick and other clergy, among whom was the Rev. Donald Ottman, then Principal of Iolani. Greatly to the regret of the people, Mr. Ottman was ordered by his physician to seek another climate.

By arrangemgent with the Cathedral parish the Hawaiian Congregation has from its beginning paid $300 a year towards the salary of the Cathedral organist, who trains both choirs and plays at both services.

The story of the Hawaiian Congregation would be sadly incomplete if it lacked special mention of the three devout women workers under the United Offering of the Woman's Auxiliary, who have been the assistants of their priests in all pastoral relations.

These women in their Christian lives were such that any race might be thankful for them and proud of them. I have had with me many fine women workers, but none for

whom I had a greater respect and regard than for these three of Hawaiian blood. Their own Christian names have been used rather than those of their husband's because every one knew them by those names.

Since Mrs. Caroline Clark was so intimately associated with St. Mark's, Kapahulu, in its beginning and its development, an account of her is given in the story of that mission. But although she did much there, her chief work was among the Hawaiians connected with the Cathedral. Every one knew her, and as comforter, adviser and gentle admonisher, she visited the homes of the people. As a nurse she gave advice and ministered to young and old. She brought children to baptism and was with the aged when death came to them. It is well that a window has been placed in the Cathedral to her memory, for with the Cathedral she had been associated from the rearing of its first walls to the later additions, and from it she was carried to her last earthly resting place.

Kamaka Kawaihoa and Celia Searle were selected to carry on Mrs. Clark's work. They were married but neither had children and both were able to give a half of each day. When Kamaka was upon the platform at the annual meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary, reading a report, it was a striking lesson of what the religion of Jesus Christ has done for women. Sincerity and kindliness shone in her countenance. She was called away while still young to a higher service. Celia Searle was a woman of singular purity of life and of deeply religious nature. The lay people and the clergy with whom she worked had respect and affection for her. She too was called away while young and, like the other two, she left on many hearts a profound impression for good. She too should have a memorial in the Cathedral.

CHAPTER XXX.

UNDER THE AMERICAN BISHOP—THE PRIORY—IOLANI—THE CLUETT HOUSE.

When I was elected Bishop of Honolulu, and before my consecration, I received letters from Sisters Beatrice and Albertina, saying that they wished to turn over St. Andrew's Priory to the new American Bishop. They suggested that I try to get an American Sisterhood to take charge. I found by correspondence that none of our Societies had any Sisters whom they could spare.

Then it was that three of my parishioners, Mrs. L. F. Folsom, Miss Charlotte Teggart and Miss Evelyn Wile volunteered for work at the Priory. Upon the arrival of our party they took up their work at once, as there was but three weeks to make preparations for the opening of the school in September. Time had made havoc of the buildings. They were dilapidated and worm eaten—borers had gone on unmolested for many years and the interior of the dormitories needed renovation; the sanitary arrangements were out of date and many repairs were necessary.

The Sisters had slept in the dormitories without privacy, but different provisions had to be made for the three new teachers. They did not complain but they were dismayed at the outlook. Mrs. Mackintosh kindly took them to her house for two weeks while partitions were put in, making cubicles at the end of each dormitory for their sleeping rooms, and the walls and ceilings were whitewashed.

The school opened with about forty pupils, Miss Wile being principal, Mrs. Folsom matron, and Miss Teggart treasurer. The latter also did Church work outside of the school at St. Elizabeth's. Miss Hortense Leffingwell of

SISTERS BEATRICE (RIGHT), ALBERTINA (LEFT)
Arrived 1867—retired 1902

St. Mary's School, Knoxville, Illinois, who was spending her vacation in Honolulu, volunteered to join the staff and several of the former teachers remained.

A case of plague occurring near the school in 1902 the Board of Health ordered sewer connections to be made which necessitated new plumbing throughout. All these improvements cost $1,500, and were provided for out of money given me by friends before I came.

Towards the end of the year Miss Abby Stuart Marsh, whom I had known in California as principal of a girls' school in Los Angeles, offered to come here. The second year opened with her as principal. Miss Wile had graded the school and had introduced American text books and methods and Miss Marsh found affairs in running order. Her ability as a teacher and her influence over the girls were soon strong factors in building up the school. She remained in charge until 1915, when, cataract developing, she was obliged to go to New York for an operation, and later resigned. She was deeply interested in the moral and spiritual welfare of the girls and most of those whom she trained, now married and scattered over the Islands, remember her with gratitude and affection.

Miss Wile left in 1904 to attend St. Faith's Training School for Deaconesses in New York. She is now in charge of the Church Home for Children, an orphanage which she has founded in Los Angeles.

Miss Teggart, after most efficient work at the Priory, as director of the household and treasurer for 16 years, was given the management of the Cluett House in 1919, where she now is at this writing.

It was apparent from the first day of my coming that new buildings must be constructed and to this end I sought to get money from friends in the Islands and in the States. In order to get a site, I purchased the Robertson property for $6,000, and from England I obtained a deed for the

land owned by the Society of the Holy Trinity, which had been called the "field," and on which were school houses and a chapel. The conditions imposed by the Society were that the two Sisters should be comfortably provided for during their lives. This had been done since 1902, but now it was a legal agreement. When they retired in 1902 they settled in a cottage on the grounds which had formerly served as an infirmary for the school. Here they lived happily, frequently visited by their friends and former pupils. In the new order of things they were always very helpful with advice which was valuable because of their knowledge of Hawaiian families and the traditions of the school. In this cottage Sister Beatrice busied herself with her needle, always working for some one, either embroidering, lace making or knitting (without the aid of spectacles), the whole year through planning these pieces as Christmas gifts for her friends. The rest of her leisure time was spent in reading and visiting with friends until on Sunday night, February 20, 1921, the call came, scarcely without warning, and she fell peacefully asleep, at the advanced age of 92 years. She was of saintly character and was greatly beloved. Sister Albertina, her companion for fifty years, still survives, and has been of great help to me in supplying information about the Church since 1867.

In going over Maunaolu school, Maui, with the late H. P. Baldwin, he told me that the architect was C. R. Dickey. He was consulted and the plans submitted by him, which embodied my ideas for the new Priory, were accepted. The corner stone was laid on February 7, 1909, and the present fine steel and concrete structure was erected at a cost of $55,000. This building could not be duplicated for twice its cost at this time.

Mrs. Restarick collected some $6,000 for the furnishing of the school throughout, and also procured $6,000 with which to meet the last payment on the building itself.

ST. ANDREW'S PRIORY

All the old furniture except the desks was discarded, and when the girls moved towards the end of 1910, they simply took their clothes and bed coverings. The new building accommodates some 200 girls, nearly 90 of whom are boarders.

In 1917 I made every effort to obtain Sisters of the Transfiguration to take charge of the Priory. During my visits with the late William A. Procter at Glendale, Ohio, I had become acquainted with the Rev. Mother Eva Mary, a daughter of the late Stanley Matthews, Justice of the United States Supreme Court. In 1918 three Sisters were sent out. They were Sister Olivia Mary (the niece of Mother Eva and granddaughter of W. A. Proctor) and Sisters Caroline and Amy, the last remaining but one year.

After Miss Marsh was relieved, Miss Jessie L. Maddison had carried on the school satisfactorily as Principal but when the Sisters took charge she returned to her home in Tennessee.

One feature of the life at the Priory is that all pupils attend daily service of shortened Morning Prayer in the Cathedral, as do also the boys of Iolani and Trinity schools. The Cathedral is filled and the service is remarkable for the heartiness of the responses and the singing of the grand hymns of the Church. Prior to 1903 the children had prayers in their own schools but the new arrangement was most successful from the start.

The Priory is, as it always has been, particularly designed for Hawaiians and part Hawaiian girls, but there have always been a few Chinese and white girls in attendance. The boarders come from all the Islands and the school has a record of which it may well be proud. For years Miss Margaret Jensen did a wonderful work in the needlework department. The girls were apt pupils and at fifteen they were able to design, cut and fit their

own clothes. Miss Jensen left in 1921 for Glendale, Ohio, to prepare herself to become a member of the Sisterhood, and is now Sister Lydia Margaret.

Long may the school with its sane traditions and modern improvements continue its good work.

Among those connected with it since 1902 have been: Miss G. Blair, (now Mrs. Ed. Dekum), Miss Louise Lucas, Miss Helen Emerson, Miss J. Pierce, Miss Mary J. Simpson, Mrs. B. P. Steven, Miss Dickerman, Miss Susie Davis, (now Mrs. J. A. Tiffany), Miss Nina Ledbetter, (now Mrs. Harold Podmore), Miss J. Barnett (now Mrs. Gordon Wakefield), Miss Frances Hamlin, (now Mrs. K. Day), Mrs. James Woolaway and many others.

There has always been the difficulty of changing teachers. Every year a number leave Honolulu, others marry, but there has been much devoted service and excellent results. No less than twelve of our girls have become graduate nurses, nine taking their course on the coast. Many go from the Priory to the Normal School, and as teachers they have had high standing. Others have held positions as stenographers and typists. All over the Islands one finds Priory girls with aloha for the school and upholding its teaching in their lives. Living near the school for 16 years, I always took the deepest interest in them and had their confidence in a way which will always be a precious memory.

The value of boarding schools for girls has been abundantly demonstrated in Hawaii. A man who was born on the Islands and returned in 1915, after a long absence, told me that the thing that impressed him most was the great improvement of Hawaiian girls due to the several boarding schools. Another said to me in 1902 that boarding schools for Hawaiian girls only made them more attractive as mistresses. Twenty years later, when he saw the progress made, he retracted what he had said. What

has led to this improvement, as much as anything, is the change in economic conditions. In the time of Bishops Staley and Willis there were practically but two ways open to girls on leaving school. One was marriage, which all principals tried to arrange, the other was to take up with some man willing to support them without legal marriage which is called "marriage in Hawaiian style," and is a kind of common law marriage. Very few entered domestic service. Today it is different. Employment is open to an educated girl in many directions. She can go to a training school for nurses, as a large number have done. She can fit herself for an office position or go to the Normal School and become a teacher. In all these and other capacities she has proved herself efficient, reliable and as able to take care of herself as her white sisters. I speak from what I know personally and from knowledge gained from the business and professional men of the Islands.

If a girl can earn a good living she is not in a hurry to marry the first man who comes along. She does not marry at fourteen or fifteen as her mother did. Boarding schools have been a wonderful help in instilling religious and moral principles, especially when girls have not gone to improper homes during vacation.

But opportunities to obtain well paid employment have had an immense influence in the betterment of conditions, as all are aware who have really studied the question.

IOLANI.

When I arrived in Honolulu I found the remnant of Iolani using the old Pro-Cathedral, that arrangement having been made by Bishop Nichols. The Rev. Frank Fitz was in charge and there were about thirty day pupils.

Within a few months requests were made by people who desired to place boys as boarders, and in order to accommodate these, a house which stood in the rear of the

Chinese Church was used. As this was unsatisfactory, in 1903 the building, which had formerly been used for the Punahou preparatory school, was rented. In 1905 this property was purchased for $18,000, and $2,000 was expended for painting and alterations. Later a teachers' house was erected.

The old stone house was originally built for the Rev. William Richards, the minister of public instruction, and after his death, it was sold to the Rev. Richard Armstrong, who was his successor under the Government. Here Mr. Armstrong lived until his death in 1860. Here his son, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, spent his youthful days and here the youth knelt by the dead body of his father and vowed to dedicate his life to the service of God and man. How faithfully he kept his vow is well known, as was shown in his remarkable life.

Leaving Honolulu, young Armstrong entered Williams' College, which he left to join the Federal army. Towards the close of the Civil War he was in command of colored troops and this led him to see the great need of training for the negroes. When the war ended he interested many wealthy people in the project of starting an industrial school, the idea for which came to him from his knowledge of such institutions in Hawaii, notably the Lahainaluna School at Lahaina and the Lyman School at Hilo.

The world knows how General Armstrong founded Hampton Institute and of the splendid work it has done. From it Booker T. Washington went to found a similar school at Tuskegee and Archdeacon Russell, at Lawrenceville, Virginia, organized St. Paul's Normal and Industrial School.

When Mr. Fitz left Iolani, his successor, Mr. J. B. Morgan, an experienced educator, graded the school on American lines and started a High School department, which, though discontinued for a time, was later reopened.

IOLANI SCHOOL
Old Stone House—the home of General Armstrong

Mr. Morgan was followed by the Rev. W. H. Bliss, then the Rev. Frank Saylor took charge and he opened a carpenter shop and gave many boys a training which was very useful to them when they left school. In Mr. Saylor's time the buildings were overcrowded and many applicants for admission were turned away.

During the principalship of the Rev. Albert L. Hall and later under the Rev. Leopold Kroll the congestion became acute and every available place was used for classes. An old Priory school room had been moved to the Iolani premises and this served as dining room and class room, the lanais and portions of the Davies Memorial building and the basement of St. Peter's Church being used also for the overflow. The school was at a great disadvantage from lack of proper equipment. Great improvements had been made in public school buildings and equipment since 1902 but, despite the crowding and the many needs, Iolani did good work.

Thurston R. Hinckley, who succeeded Mr. Kroll, brought with him experience as an educator as well as consecration and high ideals, and did excellent work. The Rev. Donald Ottman and the Rev. L. H. Tracy were in charge for brief periods after Mr. Hinckley left and both labored under the old disadvantages.

As the staff of teachers was increased there was the problem of finding accommodation for them, and they had to put up with many inconveniences. At one time a number of Church workers were from Ashland, Oregon. Verne Blue was the first and then his mother, who took charge of the Cluett House. Others were Jan Mowat, Edward Stannard, Miss Frances Hamlin (Mrs. Kenneth Day), Miss Katharine Miller and Robert R. Spencer (the present principal). All of these rendered efficient and loyal service. While omitting necessarily many names, yet for long and faithful service at Iolani, Mrs. Oakes from

Oregon and Miss Roberta S. Caldwell deserve much more than a passing notice, also Mrs. James Woolaway, the capable house mother and manager.

The students at Iolani since 1902 have been predominantly Chinese, though there have always been some Hawaiians. As years passed many Japanese entered and have been good students. The old boys are found all over the Islands working in many capacities. Some are in China and Japan, some in the States and many in the Islands. A goodly number have gone to universities on the mainland and to the University of Hawaii, and have made good records.

The new building, which has been in mind for several years, is still a hope deferred, but may soon be realized.

OTHER CHURCH SCHOOLS.

Since 1902 there have been eight schools connected with different missions. Some supplied a temporary need and after some years were abandoned, others are still successfully carrying on. These will be mentioned in connection with the several mission stations.

THE CLUETT HOUSE.

George B. Cluett of Troy, New York, through correspondence had become interested in the work of the Church in Hawaii, and had aided it from time to time by gifts. In a number of the Church Chronicle he had read an account of the Bishop's desire to purchase the James F. Morgan house on Emma Square to be used as a hostel for girls attending the Normal School or preparing themselves in other ways to earn their living, and for girls without homes who were working. The Bishop had an option on the property provided that the Church would take over Mr. Morgan's leases on two adjoining lots, including houses which he generously offered to give to the Church.

Mr. Cluett having written for full information and

for reports on the property by business men and being satisfied with them, he sent the required $16,000, and in September, 1912, the purchase was made. A few weeks later Mr. Cluett wrote that he wished to pay for necessary changes in the building and for its furnishing, and being informed of the amount needed he sent an additional check for $3,400.

Before Mr. Cluett had made his gifts, friends in the Islands and on the mainland had placed in the Bishop's hands $10,000 towards the purchase of the Morgan property. When Mr. Cluett made his gift, letters were sent to those who had previously subscribed asking if they would allow the money sent by them to be used as an endowment. All willingly consented so that the Cluett House Endowment Fund was created. This Fund later suffering a loss from an investment in bonds which all had believed to be good, an Island friend, in recognition of the good work being done by the house, made a gift of $5,000 to the Endowment Fund.

The first manager of the Cluett House was Mrs. D. P. Blue who gave excellent satisfaction, not only in her conduct of its affairs but in winning the attachment of the girls. The next manager wass Miss Evelyn Drummond, during whose time extensive alterations were made. On her resignation in 1919 the Bishop requested Miss Charlotte Teggart to take charge.

The Bishop's Advisory Committee, composed of Mrs. Russell D. Walbridge, Mrs. H. M. von Holt and Mrs. B. F. Marx were also anxious to have Miss Teggart as manager and she finally accepted.

Miss Teggart had come to Honolulu with the Bishop's party in 1902, and as business manager and matron at St. Andrew's Priory had rendered faithful and efficient service, and had also the confidence and respect of the girls.

Her management of the Cluett House has commended itself to all concerned.

In 1918 it became desirable that the lot next to the Cluett House should be acquired by the Church Corporation. Some years before, the Bishop had approached the owner, the late A. S. Cleghorn, on the subject and he had stated that he would like to give it to the Church but did not feel able to do so. He asked $10,000 for the property, a sum which, with so many other projects in hand, it did not seem possible to obtain. As time passed, however, it was feared that undesirable persons might buy it and occupy the cottages or erect undesirable buildings upon it. The Board of Directors being consulted, strongly advocated its purchase. The executors of the Cleghorn Estate then asked $15,000, and gifts being solicited some $8,000 was obtained, and the necessary balance was borrowed. Two of the cottages were soon filled with waiting applicants.

The Cluett House has about 35 boarders. There are few rules, it being understood that those who live there are self-respecting young women who will maintain the good name of the House. The object in mind at first was to provide a home for graduates of the Priory but it has been open to approved young women of various races who would agree to attend some place of Christian worship at least once each Lord's Day. It has been a most successful and helpful home devoid of the atmosphere usually associated with an institution of this kind.

Many girls have been married from the Cluett House and they look back on their years there with pleasant memories.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ST. CLEMENT'S PARISH.

When the Rev. John Usborne conceived the idea of a church in the Punahou District, he was Rector of Honolulu under the appointment of Bishop Willis made in April 1897. He, and the laymen associated with him, intended to erect a building which should be a chapel of ease to the Cathedral. Land was purchased on the corner of Wilder Avenue and Makiki Street, and it was deeded to three trustees, the Rev. John Usborne, Tom May and T. R. Walker. This was the chief cause of later trouble with the Bishop, who ruled that it was not Church property because it was not deeded to the Church Corporation.

The land acquired had been used as a vegetable garden, and upon it Canon Usborne erected tents which served him and his family for a residence. The grounds were laid out and planted with trees and shrubs. Having a strong artistic sense he planned the Chapel, Rectory and Parish House, and planted the vines which have since made the church and its surroundings one of the beauty spots of Honolulu. St. Clement's was the child of Canon Usborne's brain and heart. Having private means, for some years he practically gave his services without remuneration to the people, who gave him their affectionate regard.

In April, 1902, St. Clement's was given provisional standing as a parish by the Rt. Rev. Wm. Ford Nichols, Bishop in charge of the Missionary District of Honolulu. Later in the year it was organized as a parish under the Constitution and Canons which had been selected, and its boundaries were defined as that part of Honolulu lying

east of the center of Pensacola Street. It was represented in the first Convocation of the District by Major (later General) Edward Davis, Captain (later Admiral) W. H. Whiting and H. W. M. Mist.

In 1902 there was a debt of about $11,000 upon the property. Year by year after 1902, the Woman's Guild and the people as a whole worked to pay the debt. Fairs and sales of work were held on the church grounds and large amounts were realized. With money thus earned and with gifts, the debt was reduced until on April 30, 1910, it was reported to be $3,500.

It was at this time that an officer of the Woman's Guild wrote to Tom May, asking him if he would cancel the debt. His reply was that he would do so if the parish would agree to give Canon Usborne the right to use the Rectory as his home during his life. This agreement was made but, after Canon Usborne resigned as Rector, he went to live in a house of his own at Diamond Head.

The debt being cancelled, the parish was incorporated according to the provisions of the revised Canons and the trustees deeded the property to the Parish of St. Clement's, a Corporation. Soon after this Tom May died in England where he had lived during the last years of his life. During his long residence here he had shown great interest in the Church in Hawaii and in his will he left $5,000, the income to be used for its extension. This is called the Tom May Fund and is held by the Church Corporation of the District.

For the year ending April 30, 1911, the total offerings of the parish were reported as $1,973 of which $600 was for the stipend of the Rector. The communicants reported were 105. It may be said here that it is very difficult to give a correct count of communicants in any parish because many names are retained of those who, while po-

tentially communicants, are not so actually, within a reasonable time.

St. Clement's went on its way quietly and was always noted for the energy and capability of its women workers in Guild and Auxiliary. They have had a large part in parochial and in missionary work. St. Mary's Mission is within the boundaries of St. Clement's Parish, and was organized under the Canon which permits the organization of a mission for non-English speaking people or for a settlement within the boundaries of a parish. In St. Mary's the people of St. Clement's have always been interested and have helped by money gifts and in every other way possible.

In 1917 Canon Usborne, feeling the difficulties arising from his advancing years, resigned his charge and became Rector Emeritus. The Rev. L. H. Tracy succeeded him as Rector until 1920, when the Rev. C. S. Long, Deacon, officiated, and at his ordination to the priesthood, he became Rector for a short time, leaving for family reasons.

The oak altar is in loving memory of Thomas Rain Walker, one of the founders of St. Clement's Church, who died September 23, 1903. The oak choir stalls were given in memory of Tom May and his wife, Julia Wight May, who both died in 1910. They were the gifts of their children. The oak credence table was given by Mrs. W. H. Baird in memory of her sister, Miss Emily May, who died in 1916. The brass fald-stool, or litany desk, was given in memory of William Paul McGrail, who died in 1912, and of the Rev. Thomas Dowell Phillips, 1833-1915, and Catherine Edith Phillips, 1839-1909. The seven branch candlesticks were presented by Mrs. Margaret Davis, wife of General Edward Davis.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHINESE WORK. ST. PETER'S CHURCH. PROMINENT CHINESE.

When Vancouver was here in 1794, he found a Chinese man resident on Hawaii. The Fair American, when here in 1790, had a number of Chinese among its crew, as undoubtedly had other vessels trading between the North West Coast and China.

The Sandwich Islands were known to the Chinese as the Sandal Wood Islands, because this wood was taken from here in large quantities to Canton. From time to time Chinese left ships and settled in Hawaii, but it was not until 1876 that they were brought here in large numbers at the cost of the government for work on the plantations, when the sugar business developed because of the reciprocity treaty with the United States.

One man sent to China was Luke Aseu, who went to the agricultural districts of the province of Canton and brought men accustomed to field work. The fact that the immigrants came so largely from the country accounts in great measure for the character of the Island Chinese.

The Hawaiian Board at once commenced missionary work among this industrious and interesting people. At first many of them married Hawaiian women, as there were few Chinese females of marriageable age in the Islands. Many of the children of these mixed marriages have made their mark in Hawaii.

As soon as an opening occured, Bishop Willis began a Chinese mission at Kohala in 1882.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

I can not do better in telling of the Chinese work than to quote from a paper read by Yap See Young when the

ground was broken for the new St. Peter's Church in May, 1913. He has known its history from the founding of the mission and has had a prominent part in its growth.

Yap See Young came to Hawaii when he was eight years old and lived with his father by adoption, a Chinese doctor of the old school, at Kohala. In 1885 he entered Iolani School and, for the greater part of his residence there, earned his way by waiting on table and acting as house boy. He was baptized and confirmed in St. Andrew's Cathedral, and, on leaving school in 1889 he entered the employment of Theo. H. Davies and Co., and is still a trusted employee of that firm.

Yap See Young was a progressive Chinese and was one of the first young men to cut off his queue. After his marriage he walked to Church with his wife at his side, adopting the white man's way and discarding the Oriental custom of having the wife follow behind. For this he was criticised by older Chinese, who considered that, by thus showing disregard for the customs of his fathers, his example would tend to destroy the idea of the subordination of the wife. He replied that as he hoped to be with his wife on an equality in heaven, he considered it right to treat her as an equal here on earth.

Mr. and Mrs. Yap have a large family of five boys and five girls who are a credit to them. The oldest son, Joseph, is organist at St. Peter's Church and has frequently acted as substitute organist at the Cathedral. The other children are active in Church work. Ruth, a graduate of the Priory was at one time a valued assistant at the Church School at Lahaina, later, a graduate nurse of a Boston hospital and now the wife of Dr. M. F. Chung, a graduate of Yale and Harvard Medical School, and once a pupil at Iolani.

The ceremony of breaking ground on the site of the proposed new Church for St. Peter's Chinese Congregation took place on Trinity Sunday, 1913, and was a noteworthy

event of Convocation week. There was a large attendance of the clergy of the District and of the members of that congregation as well as Church people generally. The senior warden, Mr. Yap See Young, gave the following historical address:

"The first Chinese Mission of the Anglican Church in the Hawaiian Islands was organized at Makapala, Kohala, Hawaii, in 1884. (The story of this Mission is given in the chapter on Kohala).

"In September, 1886, Mr. H. H. Gowen arrived from England at the invitation of Bishop Willis. When he arrived, the Bishop was away. Some Chinese Christians came to Honolulu from Kohala on September 18, 1886. Rev. H. F. E. Whalley wrote to Mr. Gowen to look after them. He went out the same day to find them and arranged a service the following Sunday, September 19, 1886.

"This service was held in one of the stores on Liliha street at 9 o'clock a. m., using the Chinese Prayer Book from Hongkong of the Church of England as large as the family Bible. Nineteen persons were present, the seats being boards put across flour barrels and cracker boxes. It was a little shanty and needless to say it was very hot. The service was interpreted by one of the Iolani students, (Yap See Young). Thereafter services were held every now and then on Sunday afternoons in the Pro-Cathedral, and in stores of the city. On Palm Sunday, 1887, the formation of the first Chinese Congregation took place under the Rev. H. H. Gowen. The members were from Kohala, Hongkong and Demerara. Also several Lutheran converts of the Basle and Berlin Missions in China.

"Regular services were held in the Pro-Cathedral when it was not in use. Seven men had been prepared for confirmation, and those with the exception of one who was ill, were all confirmed by the Bishop that afternoon.

"On Easter Day, 1887, a portion of the Pro-Cathedral was fitted up with a new altar and other furniture and made a charming little church. It was beautifully decorated by the Sisters of St. Andrew's Priory and other kind friends. At 11:00 a. m., we had the first celebration of the Holy Communion for the Chinese ever held in Honolulu. There were twelve communicants. In the afternoon another service was held; about fifty people attended. After that the work grew until, at Easter, 1888, the little Church was too small and was inconveniently crowded. Suggestions were made by the Church members for building a new Church. The meeting was called on All Saint's Day Eve. To Mr. Gowen's great surprise one man got up after another and put down his name to the subscription list till there was no less than $1,100 promised. The work continued until December, 1889, then we had a fair to which the ladies of the Cathedral and St. Peter's contributed articles and worked very hard for it, and from this source we raised $967 net with other contributions from England, making a total of $2,783.45 on hand. The building of the first St. Peter's Church began in July, 1890, and the work was completed in January, 1891. Bishop Willis consecrated and dedicated the Chapel to St. Peter the Apostle on March 1, 1891. Rev. H. H. Gowen went away in August, 1890, to England for a vacation but never returned. The cost of St. Peter's Church, everything complete, was $2,955. Woo Yee Bew was licensed as lay reader on June, 1891, for the Chinese Congregation and on March 13, 1892, he was ordained Deacon in St. Andrew's Cathedral.

"Mr. Kong Yin Tet arrived from China in 1889 and was placed in Iolani School as a student. He had received a good education in China from the Basle Mission but had a very limited knowledge of the English language, but soon made sufficient progress in English to study divinity

in that language. The S. P. C. K. assisted him with a theological scholarship. He was admitted to Holy Orders as Deacon, December 22, 1895, and was licensed to serve at St. Peter's in 1896. On April 28, 1899, he was ordained Priest. He was the first Chinese Priest of our Church in the Hawaiian Islands.

"The financial help for the support of the Mission was obtained from the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G. in England and from a few people of the city. The members of the Church were poor, mostly cooks, yardmen and small storekeepers. The offertory of each month only amounted to from $10 to $15. There were the Chinese and English teachers' salaries of our Mission day school to pay, but the vestry in those days was not responsible for funds. In 1898 when these islands were annexed to the United States of America all the financial help from England ceased, and the Chinese work appeared to be about to close, as a child driven from home and compelled to seek his own support. Committees were chosen to seek help from the Chinese merchants and subscription lists went around to the different merchants with the result that we got $670, and in 1901 we did the same and got about $700. In 1902 the Church was transferred to the Protestant Episcopal of the United States. When Bishop Nichols came and took charge of the jurisdiction the Chinese were much encouraged about the future. When Bishop Restarick came the Mission took on new life with new ideas and plans. The men and women felt that each had a duty to perform for the support of the Church. The Sunday envelope system was introduced and proved most successful. The Bishop met the people and explained the duty of giving and they at once adopted his suggestion about the use of envelopes for a weekly offering.

"The Woman's Auxiliary, Woman's Guild, Girls' Friendly Society, Altar Guild, Vestry, Brotherhood of St. Andrew

and the Choir were organized and Mother Kong was engaged as a Chinese Bible woman. She did good work amongst the families, and brought many non-Christians to the Church to be baptized, and afterwards confirmed. On December 6, 1902, the Rev. Mr. Kong and the Warden of St. Peter's and the Chinese Bible Woman started St. Mary's Mission. The members and workers of St. Peter's also helped to start the St. Elizabeth's Mission in Palama, and some members have been transferred to that Church who are now living in that section of the city. In 1904 St. Peter's became very crowded on Sundays.

"As the weather was rather warm, the Vestry suggested opening more windows and enlarging it. Instead we received encouraging news from our Bishop that we should look forward to building a new Church of concrete or stone, a larger building than the present one. At that time the vestry had on hand $300 as an improvement fund. Instead of using it for improvements we turned it over to St. Peter's new Church building fund. In 1905, on the advice of Bishop Restarick, Rev. Y. T. Kong took a trip to the United States to collect funds and about $1,000 was realized. In 1911 the Congregation called the members together and decided upon some permanent plans. Not only were we to decide plans but to see first how much money the congregation could raise, for none of the members possessed much of this world's wealth. After the meeting was over we counted about $1,800 pledged. In 1910 Rev. Mr. Kong went to the States again at our Bishop's advice and another $1000 was given towards the funds. On December 5, 1912, the Vestry and Bishop went around to visit the Chinese merchants in the city and about $750 more was pledged together with the Woman's Guild fund of $400 which was raised by fairs of the past three years. The total of $5,000 was now on hand, with $14,000 donated by a generous-hearted friend of the

Chinese which paid for the ground. In addition $11,000 in pledges and cash in the Bishop's hands made a total of $16,000 for the building fund. According to the estimates the new Church would cost over $20,000 when completed. The Mission has been hampered by having no Parish House for its different schools, or for social gatherings. The Bishop has worked very hard for our Chinese Mission.

"I ask all those present here today to join me in praying God our Heavenly Father to bless the work upon which we are engaged, and to help us turn the sod for a greater and more glorious St. Peter's Church to honor His name."

Some time had been taken in selecting a site for the new Church. The Chinese wishing to be near the Cathedral, the most desirable lot was one adjoining the Cluett House, belonging to the B. P. Bishop Estate. The Trustees consented to sell it for $14,000, the full amount being given by Stephen A. Palmer of New York, who had been greatly impressed by the Chinese work during his visit here, after he had been shown what was being done.

Gifts came to the building fund from many sources. One of $4,000 and another of $2,500 from men born in the Islands showed their estimate of the work being done for the Chinese by this Church. Authorized by the Board of Directors, a building committee was appointed, consisting of George F. Davies, George C. Potter and Yap See Young. This committee selected the plans of W. O. Phillips. Although there was not enough money on hand, the contract was signed for a reinforced concrete Church to cost $18,000. Two of the committee were in favor of a brick building but the congregation were unanimous in desiring a concrete structure. Messrs Freitas and Fernandez were the contractors and the cornerstone was laid on the third Sunday in Lent 1914.

While the building proceeded gifts came in and when it was finished there was money on hand to pay all that

was due. The congregation determined to have the Church completely furnished, even if a debt had to be incurred, but when the pews, choir stalls, etc., were in place, money was on hand to pay for them. Farm Corn, a Chinese, not a Churchman, gave a handsome koa reredos in memory of his father, who had been a communicant of St. Peter's during the last years of his life. The east window was given by Mr. Kong in memory of his father. The vestry of St. Andrew's Cathedral parish had given their old organ and a contribution of $300 towards its rebuilding, and also their old pulpit. The altar, the bell and font were removed from the old St. Peter's, the latter having been obtained from China only a few years before. The altar cross was a gift from St. Clement's. The altar vases were presented by a Chinese; the lectern was sent from China, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Luke Aseu; the congregation paid for the matting and carpet for the sanctuary.

The Church being free from all debt, the first service held in it was its consecration which occurred on the Sunday next before Advent, 1914. The full cost of the land, church and furnishing was as follows:

Cost of land	$14,000.00
Architect's fees	1,000.00
Contract for building	18,000.00
Rebuilding the organ	920.00
Electric Wiring	369.50
Extras	871.00
Pews and Choir stalls	528.00
Total	$35,838.50

It was a joyful day for St. Peter's when the Church was consecrated. It is said that the Chinese are not an emotional people but they feel deeply and show it to those in whom they have confidence and for whom they have

an affection. After the beautiful service the oldest man in the congregation, Lam En Luk, an earnest Christian for many years, took the Bishop's hand in one of his and, placing the other on the Bishop's head, he gave him an old man's blessing, meanwhile shedding tears of joy.

At three p. m., on the same day, Mr. Kong baptized 24 children. He had shortly afterwards a class of 30 for confirmation. His faithful work has always been highly appreciated by all Church people in the Islands. This may be a fit place to write of the work of his mother as Bible woman. Mother Kong, as she is affectionately called, could speak little English in 1902, but she then gave earnest attention to its study. Having been educated in the Basle Mission, her services in instructing Chinese women in their homes, have been invaluable, as also her visits in times of sickness or need. Many have embraced Christian truths through her teaching. Her husband was a Lutheran minister, who, in his youth, hated the foreign doctrine and engaged himself to distribute Christian tracts in order that he might destroy them so that the pernicious teaching should not spread. However, he thought he would read them first and this led him to seek further instruction from the missionaries. As a result he became a Christian and in due time a minister. Mrs. Kong had three sons and six daughters. Kong Yin Tet who studied at Iolani, in 1920 went to New York to take a special course at the General Theological Seminary; Kong Mau Tet was a lay reader in Hawaii and on returning to Canton was most helpful in the Church there; Kong Shun Tet graduated at Columbia and has been in charge of important mining engineering in China; Jennie Kong, on the death of her husband was trained at the Philadelphia Deaconess School and went to work in Hankow. Later she married the manager of the Yangste Engineering Co.; Lillie and Lucy graduated at the University of California and married in

China. Lillie's husband became Chief Justice of Canton. Lucy's husband died and she is teaching in China; Annie is a graduate of Barnard College and is national president of the Y. W. C. A. in China and her husband is a prominent lawyer of Shanghai. Altogether about 150 from St. Peter's now live in China. Archdeacon Thompson of Shanghai said: "They are the best Christians we have."

The Congregation of St. Peter's has always been progressive and its people have spared no effort to give their children a good education at great sacrifice. Many have sent them for higher learning to the United States or England, to St. John's, Shanghai, or Boone University. Nearly sixty boys went to these last two institutions. The number of those who have risen to distinction in China is remarkable. Eight of St. Peter's girls have been engaged in social and mission work in the land of their fathers.

Since the consecration of St. Peter's the congregation has gone on in its educational and Christianizing efforts. The day school for the teaching of Chinese is not now attended by as many as formerly because the children do not care to learn the difficult characters, and because with their English school work they have not the time. All the younger ones of the congregation understand English and it is only a question of time when, at least one of the services will be in that language.

The young people are loyal and intelligent American citizens, and many of the young men volunteered during the war, one of whom was killed in action. Some became officers.

St. Peter's people, besides helping themselves, have always been prompt in meeting all obligations for the District and have given generously to missions. The Lenten Sunday School offering has been very large, most of it being earned by the hard work of the children.

Their Sunday School Christmas festivals have always been carried out with the ideas which the Christian Chinese brought from the Basle and Berlin missions. They have been distinctively religious festivals. Classes have recited in concert prophecies referring to Christ, followed by verses from the New Testament telling of their fulfillment. Many of their carols are of German origin but they also sing all our best known ones in the Church hymnal. It may be remarked that St. Peter's was the first congregation to use the American Prayer Book and Hymnal (of course in the Chinese versions) which they had obtained from the American Church mission in Shanghai.

In their Christmas Sunday School festival they do not use the legends of Santa Claus but they always have a Christmas tree, having brought that custom from China. When these Lutheran Chinese Christians came to Hawaii they did not find the Holy Days kept in the missions established here, and were attracted to the Anglican Church because their ideas and practices were in close agreement with what they had been taught. St. Peter's has been a power for good and it has a bright future before it, for they have a splendid lot of young people who have been trained from infancy in regular attendance and churchly ways.

Priest and people are now working for a parish house as a center of social and Church activities, and have set out to raise $25,000 for this purpose.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ST. ELIZABETH'S, HONOLULU. CHINESE AND KOREAN WORK.

Shortly after my election as Bishop of Honolulu, I received a letter from Deaconess Drant of Cincinnati offering to go out to work under me. My reply was that while I should very much like to have her services, the problem of her support confronted me, as I had already engaged two women workers. Knowing that W. A. Procter of Cincinnati was her friend, I suggested that she go to him with my letter proposing that he employ her as his "own missionary," he providing her salary. Mr. Procter favored the idea and generously supplied her traveling expenses as well as her salary and promised to meet the general expenses of the work she intended to undertake.

Soon after her arrival she began work in a rented house on Robella Lane, Palama, opening a night school and having Sunday evening services. Her success was immediate. Deaconess Drant was a remarkable woman. She had vision, she was full of energy and soon gathered a large number of Chinese young men as pupils. The men in the night school, from the first, received religious instruction and every night a short service was held. The Deaconess enlisted the help of a number of volunteer workers for the night school. Among others were Miss C. Teggart, the Rev. Y. T. Kong and his mother and Mrs. Aseu. The Chinese at St. Elizabeth's were Punti while those at St. Peter's were Hakka, but the Chinese helpers knew both languages.

Besides the work at St. Elizabeth's the Deaconess started a branch of the Girls' Friendly Society in connection with the Cathedral, which was for some time successful.

As the work at St. Elizabeth's progressed Mr. Procter

was kept fully informed, and when he saw that the mission needed a home of its own, in May 1904, he provided $5,000 to purchase a half a block of land on King Street from the B. P. Bishop Estate.

It was soon seen that a priest was needed to be the head of the mission, and on returning from a visit to the States in December, 1903, I had an interview with the Rev. W. E. Potwine, who had been at Pendleton, Oregon, for twenty years, where he had built up a strong parish. Mr. Potwine had been personally known to me since 1892 and it was a great pleasure to have him volunteer for work in Hawaii. He reached Honolulu in May, 1904, and was placed in charge of St. Elizabeth's and Waialua where he held services for some years, a half of his salary coming from the plantation.

Mr. Procter was now prepared to build a church and mission house on the lot which had been purchased. Deaconess Drant went to Cincinnati with the plans drawn by E. A. P. Newcomb, and on her return the buildings were commenced in September, 1904, and they were consecrated on May 7, 1905. The chapel has a beautiful East window by Tiffany, New York, given by the Procter family in memory of their mother, Olivia Elizabeth. It represents the visit of St. Elizabeth to St. Mary. The mission house has comfortable quarters for women workers in the second story.

So much being accomplished, it was seen that a house for the priest was the next imperative need. Again Mr. Procter supplied the money and on its completion Mr. Potwine, his father, sister and brother were soon settled in it. The whole Potwine family entered into the work with zeal. They taught in the night school, helped with the music, assisted in the Sunday School and organized societies.

The night school, with its services and religious in-

ST. ELIZABETH'S—WHEN FIRST BUILT.

structions, had, from the beginning, led to earnest inquiries on the part of many young men. The membership of St. Elizabeth's was built up from the night school and there were, at first, no women. Three of its number began to look forward to study for the ministry. One was sent to Hong Kong, where he and the Bishop were drowned in the Bay, while on their way to a mission.

Another went to the Pacific Divinity School and is a valued priest at the head of the Chinese work in the Diocese of California. The third is in Hong Kong, priest in charge of three missions. All of these were baptized during the time of Deaconess Drant. The Deaconess had overworked and had not been well for some months and in February, 1905, she felt obliged to resign. Fortunately Deaconess Sands had arrived in 1904 for work at Iolani, and she was appointed to St. Elizabeth's where she continued on the lines already begun, enlarging upon them as the need arose. She found a large number of Chinese girls in the neighborhood of St. Elizabeth's who did not attend school, and for these she opened a day school, which was most successful, and through it many were brought to baptism.

In November, 1905, Mr. Procter gave $5,000 for a Rest House, and after due consultation a place was purchased at Waiahole, Oahu, but this location proving to be too great a distance from Honolulu, it was sold later and the present Rest House, for Church workers, was built on leased land at Kahala, the balance of the money from the sale, some $3,500 being invested as an endowment.

Mr. Potwine was anxious to have a lodging house built for the young Christian men of the mission and, in 1906, Mr. Procter gave money to buy a lot mauka of the parsonage. On this was erected a house built from the material of the old California hotel, which had been purchased by the Bishop when the ground was cleared for the Davies

Memorial Building. Mr. Procter paid a portion of the cost.

Mr. Procter told me that a sense of stewardship was the reason for his giving. Besides his gifts for material advance, he had, after careful inquiry, promised to give $3,000 a year for its support. He told me that he did not believe in complete endowments but that he wanted to give a certain sum to be invested, the income to provide for the upkeep of the property. He said that he felt sure that in case of his death, his children would keep up the good work.

Before he received word as to a safe investment in Honolulu for the amount which he intended as an endowment fund, in April 1907, a cablegram announced the sudden death of the friend and great benefactor of the Honolulu Mission.

Members of his family assured me that Mr. Procter's keen interest in St. Elizabeth's had given him the greatest pleasure and it had been a great joy to him to hear of its progress. His five children promised that they would give jointly the annual sum their father had previously sent for the support of the work, and this has been done ever since. The children are Wm. Cooper Procter, Mrs. Mortimer Matthews, Mrs. C. K. Benedict, Mrs. Paul Matthews, Mrs. Ralph R. Rogan.

Canon Potwine, as he now was, having secured the lodging house for single men now saw that the need had arisen for cottages for married couples. Some of the young men were getting married, and there were already Christian families connected with St. Elizabeth's. At first the congregation was composed of single men, but now they were marrying Christian young women.

It was then that the need of land for cottages was made evident and the Procter family provided the money,

$6,500 for the purchase of the remaining half block of the land on which the mission buildings stood.

A plan was at once adopted for the erection of cottages, which was carried out largely by borrowed money, to be repaid from rents. The rental was slightly lower than that of similar houses elsewhere, the idea being to get our Christian families out of tenements or undesirable neighborhoods into houses which they could obtain for a reasonable rent. It was not a charity but an arrangement advantageous to all.

This housing of families created great interest among Church people who were tourists to whom the Bishop frequently showed the interiors of Chinese Christian homes. Stephen A. Palmer from New York having been shown over St. Elizabeth's asked what was needed. Canon Potwine said: "We need the remainder of the half block on which the lodging house (Procter Lodge) is situated." The next day Mr. Palmer gave the Bishop the money for this purpose and soon cottages were erected upon it.

Mr. Palmer expressed his interest in the Chinese work as it had been shown to him at St. Peter's and St. Elizabeth's and later gave fourteen thousand dollars for the lot on which St. Peter's stands. He died at Redlands, California, shortly after this gift was despatched to Honolulu.

During Canon Potwine's time the Korean work, which had been commenced in buildings near the Cathedral, was moved to St. Elizabeth's, the Chinese worshipping at one hour and the Koreans at another. This entailed additional work and some inconvenience but it was assumed by the St. Elizabeth's staff without a murmur of discontent.

The building of cottages on a large scale for people of small means was the first effort of that kind in Honolulu, but the example has been extensively followed. L. T. Peck, Guy Buttolph and Alfred Lee (a Chinese) had been constituted a committee with the priest in charge, to manage

the business of St. Elizabeth's, and this committee has been continued since its first appointment. The congregations at the mission have their own Mission Committee, according to the Canons, to act with the priest in conducting the affairs of the Church.

In 1909 Deaconess Sands resigned for family reasons and was succeeded by Mrs. E. C. Perry who gave up because of ill health at the end of a year. Mrs. J. H. Cousens and Miss Edith Mills then took charge, and were followed by Mrs. E. K. Oakes and Miss Annie S. Dran.

In 1915 the mission sustained a great loss in the resignation of Canon Potwine. He felt for the sake of his family he should take a charge in California. After such fine service and such successful administration it was with the deepest regret that his resignation was accepted.

Not only St. Elizabeth's felt the loss, but the whole Missionary District. Canon Potwine had been the efficient Secretary of Convocation from the year following his arrival in Honolulu. With his wide knowledge of Church affairs, he had been five times Deputy to the General Convention from the Diocese of Oregon, and had been Secretary of that Diocese, and thus was of the greatest help to the Bishop in the formative period of the American Church in Hawaii. When the Anglican Chronicle was taken over and became the Hawaiian Church Chronicle, Canon Potwine became its business manager and assistant editor.

In 1907 he married Miss Alice Edgerton Shipman, a teacher of music at St. Andrew's Priory. Mrs. Potwine was in every respect a true helpmeet, in all phases of the work. She had charge of the music and through her efforts an excellent organ was purchased, which is still in use there.

Canon and Mrs. Potwine removed to Santa Rosa, California, in 1915, where Mr. Potwine died suddenly in September 1917. He was a splendid type of Christian

manhood and left the impress of his life on the people of St. Elizabeth's. This can be illustrated by the fact that when a young man of the mission was asked what his idea was of a Christian, he said: "To be like Mr. Potwine."

The Chinese and other friends have placed a memorial font for Canon Potwine at St. Elizabeth's. It is made of Tokeen marble with an oak and brass cover with inscription plate. Canon Potwine in the years 1904-1915 baptized 281 Chinese and Koreans at St. Elizabeth's, a large proportion of whom were adults, thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion.

Canon Potwine was succeeded by the Rev. Frank W. Merrill, who continued the work on the same general lines as his predecessor. His careful management led to a large reduction of the debt on the cottages, his aim being to pay off $1,000 a year which he accomplished.

Mr. Merrill had come to Hawaii first in 1879 and became Master at Iolani. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Willis in 1880 and was stationed at Kaneohe, Oahu. He married Miss Harriet Eleanor Barnard in 1881 and left for Australia in 1882, where he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Adelaide in 1884 and remained in that Diocese until 1887. He then removed to Massachusetts, the State of his birth, and in 1889, when Dr. Grafton was made Bishop of Fond du Lac, Mr. Merrill went with him and became General Missionary. Later, for nine years he did a large work, not only on religious but also on industrial lines, as missionary to the Oneida Indians. In 1911 he expressed a wish to return to Hawaii where his wife's relatives lived, and he was offered St. Augustine's, Kohala. From there he came to St. Elizabeth's in 1915, remaining until his death in 1918, a few days after undergoing an operation.

Mr. Merrill did painstaking work at St. Elizabeth's and there, as everywhere he had been, was a devoted priest

and pastor. He had never received a salary larger than to provide a mere living, but he did not spare himself. He usually had four services on Sunday, besides teaching and superintending the activities of the mission and its property.

His ashes, at his request, were taken to Kohala and interred in the quiet churchyard there.

The next clergyman at St. Elizabeth's was the Rev. A. E. Butcher, who did not remain long, nor did his successor, the Rev. L. H. Tracy, who removed to Manila towards the end of 1920.

Later the Rev. James F. Kieb was appointed to St. Elizabeth's. He had been a close friend of Mr. Merrill's in Wisconsin and had come to Honolulu in 1918 to take the Church of the Epiphany, Kaimuki.

KOREAN WORK.

In 1902 Koreans began to arrive in Hawaii as laborers and continued to come until what is called the gentleman's agreement with Japan, stopped them, Korea being a dependency of that country. They were, physically, a fine set of men but their habits, brought from their native land did not contribute to cleanliness. Besides this, their ignorance of American laws and customs got them into trouble at first. They are not an easy people to deal with, as they are divided into factions which quarrel and sometimes come to blows.

Some who came were Christians and had been connected with the Presbyterian or Methodist missions in their homeland. There were also a few who had been attached to the Church of England mission. A number of them, mostly non-Christian, came to me in the summer of 1905 and asked me to minister to them. One of the applicants, Choy Chin Tai, had been trained in a mission school, and I found on enquiry that he was of good character and sincere in his religion, so I appointed him catechist.

At first the Korean congregation worshipped in the old Pro-Cathedral where their attempts at singing disturbed the Cathedral worshippers. A move was made to a room in the Iolani School building. For a time, before the old California Hotel was moved to make room for the Davies Memorial building, the house, by permission of T. Clive Davies, was used for lodging Koreans. The sexton's cottage, which stood across what is now the road leading from the Cathedral Close to Iolani, was used as their kitchen and dining room.

In 1908 arrangements were made to place the Koreans under the care of Canon Potwine and to have them worship in St. Elizabeth's Church, at such hours as did not conflict with the Chinese services. By this time, Prayer Books had been obtained from the Church of England mission in Korea, and for years the English Bishop sent from Seoul each month a package of Korean Church papers for distribution. A catechist, John Pahk, worked under Canon Potwine and within a few years a large number of men and women were baptized and confirmed. In the afternoons of five days in the week a school was conducted to teach Korean to the children that they might be able to worship with their parents. There was in the congregation a Korean doctor, of the old Chinese school of medicine, whose name was Pak Nam Ho. He was one of the first to be baptized and, as the man knew little English but was an excellent Chinese scholar, I had Canon Kong instruct and examine him by written questions and answers by the use of Chinese characters. He attended Iolani School in order to learn English and he liked to attend the Cathedral services. When he was ready for baptism he told Canon Potwine that he wanted to take the name of "Jubilate." It was explained to him that this was not the name of a person but the first word in Latin of the psalm, which, translated into English was: "O be

joyful." To this he replied: "I know what it means, and I want to be called Jubilate because I am joyful," whereupon the Canon baptized him Jubilate Nam Ho, Pak being his surname. A catechist who served for some time was a printer by trade and by means of a mimeograph he made excellent service books and pamphlets of instruction.

John Pahk who was for years useful as interpreter and teacher, and later catechist, after attending Iolani for eight years, went to San Francisco to the Divinity School of the Pacific, where he spent four years and was ordained deacon by Bishop Nichols and, on his return to Honolulu, he was priested by Bishop Restarick. He is the only Korean priest in the American Church. He was given charge of the congregation which, in 1911, had taken the name of St. Luke's mission. At one time Mrs. E. C. Perry was woman worker for the people at St. Luke's and a house was purchased for her as a center for work among Korean women and girls. On Mrs. Perry's retirement, no one else was found to take her place and the property was sold.

Y. P. Cho, who had long been associated with St. Luke's, was engaged as Catechist when John Pahk left and went to Kona and later to Kahuku as a welfare worker. During Mr. Pahk's incumbency, services were held at several places in the country and the men who embraced Christianity came to St. Elizabeth's on the great festivals, and on other Sundays had lay services on the plantations where they lived.

When the Rev. Leopold Kroll lived at Lahaina, he had a good work among the Koreans and, at one time, presented thirteen for confirmation. For a time the Rev. J. C. Villiers had services for the Koreans at Olowalu and the Rev. F. N. Cockcroft and a Catechist had a mission at Lahaina. These were all given up because the Koreans went away. For years after they came to Hawaii these people frequently changed their place of residence, which

led to the closing of several of our missions among them.

There had been work at Kohala for some years prior to 1917, but that year many Koreans leased land and raised corn some nine miles from St. Augustine's. They subscribed money and purchased a piece of land and built a chapel on it. Here, under the Rev. James Walker, a Catechist works and Sunday School and services are held regularly.

St. Luke's, Honolulu, has become quite a strong mission, numbering 110 communicants. Considering the financial condition of the people, their total offerings are good, especially the Sunday School Lenten offering.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ST. MARY'S, MOILIILI—EPIPHANY, KAIMUKI—ST. MARK'S, KAPAHULU.

The story of St. Mary's Mission is one largely of the devoted labor of women. It was a woman who suggested the beginning, it has been women who have managed it from the time of Mrs. L. F. Folsom up to the present, and it was the Woman's Auxiliary which greatly aided it in obtaining a home.

Soon after I arrived, Miss Maroni, a teacher in the public school at Moiliili, came to me and told of the need for Christian work among the Chinese in that district of Honolulu. The missionary spirit had been aroused among the Chinese at St. Peter's Church and they were already rendering valuable aid at St. Elizabeth's and now they were eager to answer Miss Maroni's call. At the suggestion of the Bishop, a vacant store was rented and the Rev. Kong Yin Tet and the Warden of St. Peter's, Yap See Young, took out chairs and on December 8, 1902, a Sunday School was commenced, with the two men mentioned, Mr. Kong's mother and Miss Maroni as teachers.

Mrs. F. L. Folsom, who was matron of Iolani, became interested and in September, 1904, she began a night school, aided by several volunteer workers. The school grew and the store was given up and a building in a Japanese camp was rented.

Later she desired to devote all her time and energies to St. Mary's and wanted to live with the work. At the end of 1906 a shack was rented adjoining the mission room and she and her ward, Miss Florence Blake, moved in after a thorough cleansing of the premises. Their quarters were miserably poor and the roof leaked, but with Mrs.

Folsom's usual adaptability, she hung jars to the rafters to catch the drip, and made the best of everything.

Besides the night classes and the Wednesday evening social times with games, etc., there was a sewing school, a school for instruction in Chinese, taught by Mrs. Kong, and simple Sunday evening services.

For the last she received the assistance of Philip Dodge, Alfred Cooper, J. H. D'Almeida, Yap See Young, Carl Lovsted, W. H. Soper and R. B. McGrew, members of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, all of whom were licensed to make addresses. Mr. Dodge was much interested, and with the Bishop's approval, had cards printed containing a simple, short service which was long used at St. Mary's and St. Elizabeth's. He also designed and provided a memorial altar for St. Mary's and this was dedicated on February 3, 1907. At the same time there were set apart a reredos given by Mrs. C. Montague Cooke, Jr., in memory of Alice Mackintosh, an altar cross from Mrs. Connelly of New York, two brass vases, the gift of Mrs. B. L. Marx, and an altar book by Mr. Potwine as a thank-offering. The font was given by a Babies' Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary.

The mission grew and early in 1907 Mrs. Folsom began to look for larger and better quarters. A large house belonging to a Chinese family was found on Beretania Street in an Ewa direction from the old place. The rent of this as of the former building was largely supplied by subscriptions. The house provided comfortable living quarters and a large room for the varied work of the mission. One room in which had been a shrine for a ferocious looking idol, was converted into a neat chapel for daily and Sunday services.

In July, 1907, Mrs. Folsom started a day school as there were many Chinese girls whose parents would not let them go to public school, and at once she enrolled forty-four children of different races. She was one of the first

to see the need of feeding undernourished children and she got her friends to contribute rice, soup meat and vegetables, and gave the children a good mid-day meal daily.

Miss Sarah Chung had returned from St. Faith's, New York, and was visitor among the Chinese families, and besides other work conducted a sewing school. Mr. Yap See Young still continued his valuable assistance to the mission.

In September, 1908, the Rev. W. H. Fenton-Smith needed help and Mrs. Folsom, always ready and willing to fill any gap or undertake any hard work, volunteered for Hilo. It was then that Miss Hilda Van Deerlin was given charge of St. Mary's with Miss Sarah Chung as assistant. From this time the history of St. Mary's is the story of the self-sacrificing work of these two consecrated women, both of whom had been trained at St. Faith's School for Deaconesses in New York, and were United Offering workers of the Woman's Auxiliary. They carried on the mission on the lines which Mrs. Folsom had laid out, adding new features as the work developed. They were always hopeful, never complaining, ever progressive.

From the first Miss Van Deerlin looked forward to the time when St. Mary's should have its own home, and searched for a suitable site.

In April, 1909, there were 95 in the Sunday School, 30 men in the night school and 76 day pupils. Dispensary work had been added, where minor accidents and all kinds of wounds were cared for. In 1911 the Palama Settlement made St. Mary's the headquarters for a district nurse, who took charge of the dispensary. This arrangement has continued to the present time. St. Clement's paid for a Japanese interpreter and assisted the work in many ways. The Mission was doing the work of a settlement house with very little money.

At first it was thought that it would be well to buy

the property then occupied but the next year an opportunity came to purchase the present site on King Street, a large lot with a good house upon it.

Guy Buttolph and James Wakefield gave valuable assistance in selecting and purchasing the property and in 1910 it was bought for $2,800. A committee was appointed to assist in raising funds for a mission building, consisting of General Edward Davis, Mrs. B. L. Marx and Mrs. C. M. Cooke, Jr.

Mrs. Edward Davis, Mrs. H. B. Restarick and Mrs. H. McKean Harrison were untiring in their efforts to assist the committee. Mrs. Restarick and Miss Van Deerlin worked out the general plan and Lum King, one of the first men baptized at St. Elizabeth's, made the drawings and erected the building. The cost, which included the removal to the rear of the lot of the house already there, was to be $8,000. In 1911 the District Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary, at its annual meeting, passed a resolution to use every effort to erect the mission house. No one thought then that within a year it would be built and paid for.

On Whitsunday, May 26, 1912, the building was dedicated, at which service Bishop Willis was present. He had come to Honolulu in response to an urgent invitation from the Bishop and prominent laymen to attend the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Anglican Church in Hawaii. The Annual Convocation of the Missionary District convening at this time, most of the Island clergy were present, also many of those who had taken part in establishing the mission.

On the ground floor were a dispensary and three school rooms, one of which was used as a chapel. The second floor was fitted up as living quarters for three workers. At the time of the dedication the desire was expressed that a chapel might be erected in memory of Mrs. Edward

Davis, who had aided so materially in obtaining funds, but had departed this life before the building was finished. There had always been some vision of progress in the minds of the workers of St. Mary's and now their great need was a chapel.

It may be mentioned here that the Mary Castle Trust gave largely to the cost of the mission house and has contributed a generous sum annually towards its support.

On May 4 of the next year a silver Communion Service was given by Major Alexander Davis in memory of his mother, and not long after this, General Edward Davis announced that he desired to build a chapel in memory of his wife, Margaret J. Davis. Plans were prepared by the Rev. Leopold Kroll, and Miss Van Deerlin which included an excellent arrangement of the chancel and vesting rooms for the choir and priest.

On July 15, 1917, the completed chapel was consecrated. Mrs. H. M. Harrison had given a brass altar cross and Mrs. H. M. von Holt had paid for the seats. The chapel is used daily for a short service for the children and on Sunday evenings there are two services, one in English and the other in Japanese in charge of the Rev. P. T. Fukao. The priest in charge of Epiphany Mission, Kaimuki, holds a celebration of the Holy Communion twice a month at 7 a. m., and takes Evening Prayer on Sundays. The Sunday School numbers 200 pupils and five teachers.

In 1917, Miss Margaret Van Deerlin was added to the staff and she, with an assistant, conducts the Kindergarten. The children who want to attend St. Mary's day school are far more than can be accommodated, so it has been necessary to limit the number to one hundred. The Sunday School Lenten Offering, considering the financial ability of the parents, has always been surprisingly large. The parents are mostly non-Christian but no objection is raised to their children receiving positive Christian instruction

in the day and Sunday Schools. Many children, as they grow up, desire to be baptized and all of them lose prejudice against the Christian religion. The Christian festivals, at which the story of the birth of Christ is told in pageant and hymn, are attended by large crowds. St. Mary's has a Christianizing and Americanizing influence in the whole district. Miss Margaret Van Deerlin has been the efficient leader of St. Mary's troop of Girl Scouts. The grounds of St. Mary's have been for years a neighborhood playground for children. The Mission is a recognized center of welfare work and has been used by the health authorities in the time of epidemic. There is at present a baby clinic held at the mission, and for undernourished children about 70 half pints of milk are taken daily.

From the time of entering the new building, children who have needed a mother's care have been taken into the household. This part of the work has grown each year and to accommodate these orphans and half-orphans a sleeping porch was recently added. By the use of this and the hallway and by taking the children into the teachers' bedrooms, twenty children are cared for while many more have had to be refused admittance.

Not only do the women workers teach in the day and Sunday School but also with their own hands they prepare the daily meals and look after the physical and spiritual welfare of their charges, and at the same time the children are taught and trained to perform the duties of home life.

When one considers that the quarters were originally intended for only three workers, the crowded condition will be understood. To relieve the situation Miss Van Deerlin's plan was to build a school house on the back lot.

St. Mary's has been a work of faith and could only have been done by sacrificial devotion to the cause of Christ.

It has been blessed and will be blessed in the future as long as the spirit which animates it continues.

CHURCH OF THE EPIPHANY, KAIMUKI.

In 1908 it was readily seen that Kaimuki was a growing suburb. It was at that time a part of St. Clement's parish and Canon Usborne and others were taken to look over the ground with the view to purchasing a site for the future church. It was decided that Tenth Avenue was a central situation and a lot was selected on a block makai of the street car line and in October, 1910, it was purchased for $575, the money being given by a friend.

On the Sunday after the Epiphany, 1911, services were commenced on the lanai of the residence of Mrs. F. Spencer Bickerton, who then lived in the district. A Guild was soon formed and by its efforts a mission hall was erected. Its cost, including the furnishings (about $1,400), was borne by the Woman's Guild of the Church of the Epiphany, as the mission was called.

The Rev. F. A. Saylor was then principal of Iolani and the work was placed in his charge. Under his direction an altar was made at the workshop of Iolani School, the koa for which was the gift of Mrs. Bickerton.

A Sunday School was started in the new hall with twenty-five children present and a steady growth followed. This mission was the only organization for Christian work and worship in the Kaimuki district and the invitation was extended to all Christians to worship and work there. I have always believed in lengthening the cords as well as strengthening the stakes by planting missions at places which are likely to grow.

It was soon evident to the congregation that a church must be built and the Guild and people generally worked with that end in view. The universal opinion was that a stone church was desirable and that there was sufficient lava rock on the church lot to build it.

Early in January, 1914, an active canvass was inaugurated for funds and with gifts and the work of the

Guild, by the end of the year there was on hand $2,000. A Committee from the Epiphany met with the Board of Directors of the Church Corporation, and that body agreed to borrow money, if necessary, to meet the cost of the church which was to be $5,000.

On the afternoon of the Feast of the Epiphany, 1915, after a short service, the Bishop turned the first shovelfull of earth for the new church, followed by the Rev. Frank Saylor, Canon Usborne, the Rev. Leopold Kroll and the lay people present. At that time one half of the money required was on hand. The Diocesan Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary had voted to make the Building Fund of the Epiphany its special work for 1914, and its report up to April, 1915, shows that it had contributed $1,189 and St. Andrew's vestry gave $219. Besides the work of Epiphany Guild, Mrs. A. F. Clark had carried on rummage sales continuously, the proceeds meeting the cost of improvements on the lot and adding materially to the Building Fund.

On July 18, 1915, the church was opened for divine service. The Rev. Frank Saylor, who had worked hard for the Mission, did not remain to see its completion. When he left Honolulu, the Rev. Charles T. Murphy, a visiting clergyman from Los Angeles, took temporary charge, pending the arrival of the Rev. Leland H. Tracy who came in August 1915.

Previous to the coming of Mr. Tracy, the question of a house was considered. The congregation had paid rent for a house for Mr. Saylor and for the Rev. F. J. Williams, who was at Epiphany for a short time. When Mr. Tracy was expected, a house and lot across the street from the church was offered for sale. The Board of Directors went out to view the property and decided it was a good plan to buy it. Having obtained through the Bishop a gift of $500, the remainder of the total cost, $2,150, was

borrowed. This the congregation paid off by degrees. Mr. Tracy was succeeded by the Rev. Frank Eteson at the end of 1916, who remained until he felt it his duty to go to England and offer his services to his country during the remainder of the war in any capacity where he was needed. For some time thereafter there was a vacancy, supplied by lay readers and the Rev. F. I. Collins, a visitor from Providence, Rhode Island.

Early in 1919, the Rev. James F. Kieb was appointed, and by calling on the people at once ascertained the religious affiliations of the families. He remained until he went to St. Elizabeth's.

ST. MARK'S, KAPAHULU.

The story of St. Mark's Mission, Kapahulu, like that of St. Mary's, is largely an account of woman's work, ably assisted by laymen. There was living at Kapahulu in 1908 Mrs. Alex. Karratti, a devout Hawaiian woman, a long time member of the Cathedral. She brought to the notice of Mrs. T. Clive Davies the need of a Sunday School in her district where no religious work was being done. Mrs. Davies had organized a band of young women under the name of the Missionary Union, which society had been started by her husband's sister in England.

The Rev. E. T. Simpson was then in charge of the Hawaiian congregation and they asked him to look over the field. The result was that in 1908 a Sunday School was started on the lanai of Mrs. Karratti's house and soon after moved into a large, unused room of the barracks of old Camp McKinley.

Mrs. Caroline Clark, at the suggestion of the Bishop, had given up her practice as a nurse and had become a worker in connection with the Hawaiian congregation. She taught the small children of the mission and Mrs. Davies got members of the Missionary Union to teach in the Sunday School. Mrs. Clark visited the people at Kapahulu, who

were mostly Hawaiians, and did excellent work among them. Being a nurse, she instructed the women as to the care of the health of their families, and especially as to precautions against tuberculosis, of which there were several cases in the neighborhood. She also got the Men's Club at the Cathedral to pay for milk for the sick and undernourished children. In connection with the work she also started a small dispensary for minor ailments.

In May, 1910, Canon Simpson left Honolulu and the Rev. Leopold Kroll was appointed in his place at the Cathedral. He at once gave special attention to St. Mark's, as the mission was called, and soon saw that if a permanent work was to be established it must have a home of its own. He selected a lot belonging to W. R. Castle and obtained a ten years' lease.

Money was collected by the Bishop and Mr. Kroll and the latter designed a building which could be used as a church and also for day school purposes by shutting off the chancel. He interested lay helpers, D. G. Thayer, a teacher at Iolani, John Wise, then interpreter at the Hawaiian service, and Paul Goo, a Chinese whom Mr. Kroll had baptized at Lahaina, and these working with Mr. Kroll on Saturdays and holidays erected the chapel without any cost for labor. James Woolaway, one of the workers under the Bishop, did the painting and Mrs. Karratti and Mrs. Kaiminioku cleared the land and planted grass and shrubs. Solomon Meheula helped in the work and was lay reader and organist. He also gave the font to the mission. The services were at first in Hawaiian, in fact, St. Mark's was largely a work by Hawaiians for Hawaiians, in the beginning.

The dedication of the chapel took place the Sunday after Ascension, 1911, and at the service it was announced that Mr. Castle had donated the land to the Church.

In 1912 a day school was started, there being many

small children who did not attend any public school on account of distance. The teacher was Miss Irene Boyd, a member of the Cathedral Hawaiian Congregation and a descendant of the Boyd whom Vancouver found at Kealakekua building a ship for Kamehameha I.

In 1914 Miss Marguerite Miller, who had been teaching on Kauai, offered her services for St. Mark's. Her salary was far less than what she had been receiving but her desire was to do Church work. She soon saw that to do effective work she must live at the mission, and in August, 1914, this was made possible by the building of a cottage designed by Mr. Kroll and paid for by two unexpected gifts to the Bishop.

Using the church for a day school did not meet Miss Miller's ideas and needs and she wanted a school room built. Money came from one source and another, and in 1915 the accommodation desired was provided. At this time there were 80 day pupils and 95 in the Sunday School, which was held in the afternoon, followed immediately by Evening Prayer in English. Assistance being needed, Miss Charlotte Copp was engaged and when she took other work, Miss Gaelic Richardson (later Mrs. Fitzgerald), took her place. Both were graduates of St. Andrew's Priory and both lived with Miss Miller. Mrs. Fitzgerald was connected with St. Mark's for several years and rendered efficient service. One pleasing feature at this mission was the annual presentation of the Christmas pageant arranged by Mr. Kroll which was enacted out of doors by the children.

In 1915, Miss Miller, who was engaged to be married, talked over her affairs with the Bishop. She wanted to stay with the work and it was decided that it was desirable that a married couple should live in the cottage, as St. Mark's was in a lonely place. The marriage took place and Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Black still live at the mission.

As long as Mrs. Clark lived she continued her helpful

work there. She was called to her reward in 1915. She was a devout woman, the widow of the Rev. Abel Clark, sometime master at Iolani, who, after being ordained deacon, was in charge of the mission and school at Waialua, Oahu. Mrs. Clark had been most helpful to Bishop Willis, and was loyal and faithful to his successor. She had the respect and esteem of all races in the community. In her memory the District Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary presented to St. Mark's a silver communion set and the children of Mrs. Charles M. Cooke, Jr., a lectern.

Mrs. Clark, as has been stated, had a small dispensary, but now the Palama Settlement has charge of it, making St. Mark's a station for a district nurse. At first a tent was used, but soon the Men's Club of the Cathedral built and furnished a suitable room attached to the school house. The visiting and dispensary work of the nurse had been of great benefit to the community, as also the baby clinic carried on there.

Mrs. Black and her assistants have rendered great service in the Kapahulu district, which has no other religious organization at work there. She has lived among the people and has been their friend and adviser, giving special attention to young girls, with whom she has had a strong influence. Several who have grown up under her have been of much assistance. Clara Maile and Esther Kaleikini have helped in the school, and others, with the boys, have kept the grounds in order.

St. Mark's has done and is doing a much needed work. Its influence can not be measured by figures and much of the result may not be apparent, but the lives of many have been touched with the truth of the Gospel and the Spirit of Power which will not be lost. There has been every reason for the devoted workers to feel encouraged and to urge them to go forward in faith and hope.

CHAPTER XXXV

JAPANESE MISSION.—THE RUSSIANS.

Bishop Willis saw the necessity of work among the Japanese, who, in his time began coming to Hawaii in large numbers. He prepared copies of the Baptismal and Confirmation services but no organized effort was made. Work among the Chinese occupied his attention and required all the money at his disposal.

On arrival I felt that this Church should do her part in Christianizing the Japanese, but could see no way open. Early in 1906 Philip Dodge, who was greatly interested in the Orientals, and was teaching English in private classes composed of prominent Japanese, brought to me Philip T. Fukao, who had been under the Hawaiian Board. Inquiry elicited the information that he was a graduate of a C. M. S. College in Japan, but had attended a Presbyterian theological school and had been ordained a minister of that denomination. He said that he had never been told that there was any real difference, other than the name, but that now he wished to return to the Church of his baptism and confirmation. Correspondence with the Hawaiian Board ensued and, there being no question as to his character, he was licensed as lay reader and catechist in April, 1906.

Mr. Fukao at once opened a night school in the cottage which stood at the rear of what was then St. Peter's Church. Many of the young men of the night school, after instruction, were baptized and confirmed. I learned to read the sentences of Baptism and Confirmation in Japanese, the rest of these services being read by Mr. Fukao. Holy Trinity was the name selected for the mission, that being the name of the Church in Osaka in which Mr. Fukao had been baptized. Several volunteer teachers assisted in the

night school, and in 1906, Deaconess Wile, who had come out with the Bishop's party in 1902, was appointed to assist Mr. Fukao. She had left Honolulu in 1904 for training in St. Faith's Deaconess School, New York, and returned with a desire to work among the Japanese. For family reasons she was obliged to return to California, and in August, 1908, she was transferred to the Diocese of Los Angeles, where, eventually, the ambition of her girlhood to work among children was realized in the Church Home for Children, to which she has given the last ten years of her life, building up in a remarkable way this Diocesan Institution.

Deaconess Potter succeeded Deaconess Wile. She took the greatest possible interest in the Japanese work and at her suggestion, the building known as Trinity Mission House was rented. The upper floor provides quarters for the workers, the rooms below being used for a day school and for years a night school also.

Deaconess Spencer, who followed when Deaconess Potter resigned, set her heart upon having a hostel for Japanese girls. A Fund was begun for this object, which has not yet been expended and is still in the Treasury of the Diocesan Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary, and now amounts to about $5,000. The need for such an institution not being so imperative as it was at first thought to be, further efforts were not made to increase the Fund after Deaconess Spencer left. Ill health had caused her to give up her work in Japan, and she left the work here for the same reason, going to the Eastern States.

With the coming of Miss Mabel Schaeffer the Japanese secured a woman of energy and devotion with singular tact and ability in many directions. She taught in the day school, night school and Sunday School, visited the women and directed their organizations. She trained a choir and played the organ when necessary. She was an efficient

manager of the finances of Trinity Mission House, and was above all discreet and loyal to authority. By her friendliness she won friends for the mission among all people. It was a sad loss to the mission when she went to work under the Bishop of Tokyo in 1921.

Mr. Fukao was ordered deacon in 1911 and priest in 1914, having passed the canonical examinations with credit.

Several young men baptized in the mission became catechists and rendered acceptable service. Two did good work at St. Mary's, one at Hilo had two Sunday Schools and a good congregation which met in the parish hall, another, Kojima, began a mission at Paauilo, where a hall was built on the church lot. This young man, devout and earnest, sought to study for the ministry and went to Tokyo to be educated for it. There I saw him in 1915, but he contracted tuberculosis which soon carried him off.

Many of the men from Trinity Mission have left the Islands, some going to the United States and some to Japan. One of these went to his native country because it was found he was a leper, and going to a colony of people afflicted with the same disease, he did excellent work among them. Bishop McKim, at a public meeting at the general convention at St. Louis in 1916, said that this man was doing the most remarkable work he had ever seen done anywhere, and that through his efforts the colony was Christian.

Through removals, Holy Trinity congregation has suffered continual loss, but this has been made up by new converts. It was under Mr. Fukao that stations were opened at Hilo and Paauilo, which have had their periods of growth and decline. The difficulty has been in getting men to carry on the work. Bishop McKim, who visited our Japanese missions, said on several occasions that the work here was so important that I could select any man he had in his Diocese, and he would transfer him. Several attempts

were made to get catechists, deacons or priests, but all efforts failed. Some of them could not pass the health examination, others ready to come were prevented by family considerations.

At Hilo the Rev. Paul Tajima, trained at Seabury Divinity School, in Minnesota, came in 1915, but in 1919 left for San Francisco where he took charge of the Japanese Mission.

Mr. Fukao has had to meet many difficulties, but despite all, he has baptized over 200 and presented over 100 for confirmation.

At first the Japanese congregation worshipped in a room in Iolani School, and then by the courtesy of the Chinese, in St. Peter's Church at such hours as did not interfere with Canon Kong's services, and when the new St. Peter's was built the old church was given to the Japanese. Deaconess Wile started a fund for a Japanese Church and this is now over $1,000.

St. Mary's of late years, has been largely a Japanese Mission, and there Mr. Fukao has a service every Sunday evening at the close of the one in English.

The Hawaiian Board and the Methodists have a large Japanese work all over the Islands, which they began many years ago and on which they spend large sums of money annually. The lack of men has kept our work from the progress it otherwise would have made. What the future of it will be, it is hard to surmise. Mr. Fukao has always had in mind the extension of the work, and with the Bishop looked over places where we should have missions, but advantage could not be taken of opportunities.

Dr. Motoda, now the Bishop of Tokyo, visited the Islands in November, 1920, at the request of the Bishop and the Board of Missions. He made a report on the situation, emphasizing the importance of the work and the need of workers, but his suggestions could not be carried out.

At Hilo the Rev. J. Lamb Doty still carries on the Japanese work, though hampered by the lack of a catechist.

THE RUSSIANS

In November, 1916, I called on the Russian Archbishop in New York, and told him of the need of a priest to minister to the many Russians in Honolulu, who had been brought in the past few years to work on the plantations. I informed him that we had ministered to them when called upon for baptisms, marriages and burials, but that the people needed some one who could speak their own language and lead them in the worship to which they had been accustomed.

The Archbishop invited me to a service which he was shortly to hold in his chapel, and there before the altar he prayed for me by name.

On December 29, 1916, the Rev. John T. Dorosh, a priest of the Russian Church, arrived with his wife. He bore a commendatory letter addressed to me which was remarkable in its ending. It said: "Kindly take him under your jurisdiction for the time being and render him all the services and instructions necessary for his work." This distinct recognition of the Anglican Communion greatly impressed the people in the Cathedral congregation, when I read the letter to them. Both Mr. and Mrs. Dorosh were by birth American citizens, and both had been trained for their work. Honolulu business men made provision for their support.

I arranged with the Japanese that the Russians should have the use of Holy Trinity Church on Sundays at 9 a. m. At the first service some 200 were present. Their wonderful midnight Christmas service with a procession, when the people carried lighted candles around the outside of the Cathedral, will not be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The date of their Christmas falling upon a different date

from ours, made such a service at the Cathedral possible for them.

Mr. Dorosh continued his work here for a year, when nearly all of his congregation left Honolulu, some for the coast and some for Siberia, the Bolshevik government having promised them land if they returned.

ST. CROSS SCHOOL, LAHAINA, 1865.

CHAPTER XXXVI

MAUI—LAHAINA, WAILUKU AND ULUPALAKUA. KULA.

Until 1845, Lahaina was the capital of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Sometimes as many as 100 whaling ships wintered there and it was a place of considerable trade. The town had a population of some thousands, and with its taro patches, banana plants and bread fruit trees it presented an attractive appearance. There was a Marine Hospital there until the whaling business ceased, when it was no longer needed.

At this important place, Bishop Staley established his first work outside of Honolulu, sending first a Mr. Scott, who opened a school. He left in 1863 and Archdeacon Mason at once succeeded him. Mrs. Mason taught a school for girls, while he had one for boys, and in addition, he did the work of a parish priest. The schools were conducted and the services held in leased buildings, situated on the lot where the government school now stands.

In 1865 three Sisters of the Society of the Holy Trinity began St. Cross School for girls in the old marine hospital, a coral building, which Miss Sellon purchased for $900. As long as Archdeacon Mason remained they enjoyed church privileges, but at one time, being needed in Honolulu, he moved his boys there but took them back a year later. Before Bishop Staley resigned in 1870, he again removed his school to Honolulu. (See Church Schools.)

Whenever there was no clergyman stationed at Lahaina, Henry Dickenson, Senior, a District Magistrate, read the service in the chapel of St. Cross School, and the Rev. George Whipple, or whoever was at Wailuku, came over at stated times. The Dickenson family came from Australia,

and for many years rendered invaluable service to the Church in every possible way.

After Mr. Mason left, there was no regular clergyman until 1872, when the Rev. Thomas Blunden was ordained deacon and sent there. Mr. Blunden proceeded at once to solicit funds for a church building. In April, 1874, a lot was purchased for $600 and the erection of a church commenced. The consecration occurred on January 1, 1875, and this was made the occasion of an impressive function. Bishop Willis went to Lahaina, accompanied by the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, J. G. Trembeth and nine choir boys from Iolani School. They were entertained in the large house of Governor Nahaolelua, who was confirmed at the afternoon service. Among the contributors to the church building fund were: Governor Nahaolelua, the boarders of St. Andrew's Priory, friends in England (through the Rev. E. Ibbotson and Mrs. George Mason), Miss Willis, Henry Dickenson, J. W. Girvin, and Mrs. Ayres. The total cost of the building was $1,688.84, in addition to the lot purchased from Henry Dickenson for $600.

In August, 1875, Mr. Blunden left to seek a cooler climate. On September 15, Governor Nahaolelua died, and the Rev. John Bridger came from Wailuku for the burial.

The Rev. R. C. Searle, who had been ordained in Australia, and in 1874 had a school at Waimea, moved the boys to Lahaina and resided there until his death in September, 1876. He was buried in the church cemetery, a plot which had been purchased for $100 in 1863.

In 1877, the Rev. S. H. Davis was sent to Lahaina from Kona, and on September of that year he united in marriage Richard P. Hose and Elizabeth Rhuland, this being the first wedding in the new church. Mr. and Mrs. Hose were for 43 years worshippers and workers at the mission until they removed to Honolulu. The koa font in the church of the Holy Innocents, Lahaina, is the work

and gift of the Rev. S. H. Davis. It was while he was at Lahaina that the Sisters' School was removed to Honolulu and Mr. and Mrs. Davis carried on what was left of it until they returned to Kona in 1879. There was again a vacancy until, in 1880, the Rev. Charles E. Groser, an American, was appointed missionary for Wailuku and Lahaina. At that time, and for many years afterwards, one had to travel on horseback over a trail between the two places. It was a tiresome journey of over twenty miles.

When Mr. Groser went to Australia, the Rev. Mr. Whalley came from Kohala to Lahaina every month and celebrated the Holy Communion. In 1886, Lahaina again had a resident clergyman, the Rev. W. H. Barnes, and there were several years without a change until he was called to assist the Bishop at the Cathedral in Honolulu in 1890. From 1890 to 1892, the Rev. Vincent Kitcat was at Lahaina, and his ministrations were so highly appreciated that the people subscribed $800 towards his salary if he would remain, but the Bishop needed him at the Cathedral, where he began his duties in October, 1892.

During the vacancy Henry Dickenson, Jr., kept the church open. Mr. Dickenson was a school teacher, and on Sunday, besides reading the service, he played the organ and kept the Sunday School going and assumed the care of the Church property.

In May, 1894, the Rev. William Horsfall was appointed missionary for Lahaina and Wailuku, and acted as such until 1896, when he accepted work in Tonga.

In September, 1897, the Rev. William Ault arrived in Honolulu and assisted at Iolani until Christmas. He was from the Missionary College of St. Boniface, Warminster, England, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Willis on December 19, 1897, and was at once appointed missionary for Wailuku and Lahaina, taking up his residence at the latter place. The house in which he lived was the old St.

Cross property, which was then in bad condition. No one at present in Church work in the Islands can imagine what Mr. Ault accepted as a part of his life as a missionary. When we hear complaints now, we wonder what workers would do if they were obliged to face conditions such as he and others found. He had a poor residence, he took long rides on horseback, and was often his own sexton and bell ringer, but he went on ministering as best he could to all the members of the Anglican Church on Maui, and also to all other Christians when called upon to do so. At times he was the only minister conducting services in the English language on Maui.

An illustration of his work is an occurrence on October 25, 1898, when he sailed from Lahaina on the Claudine for Hana in order to baptize the child of Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Bryant. (Mrs. Bryant was a Miss Greenwell of Kona). He remained at Hana over Sunday and held the first Prayer Book service at that place. On Monday he borrowed a mule and rode from Hana to Lahaina, a distance of sixty miles. The first part of the journey was over a rough country with a succession of deep gulches, difficult to cross. He had just reached home on Wednesday afternoon when a telephone message informed him of the sudden death of Mrs. Randall von Tempsky at Kula. He at once rode back to Kahului that same night and next morning went to Erehwon at Kula and read the burial office and administered consolation to the family.

Late in 1899, the people at Wailuku wished Mr. Ault to devote all his time to that side of the Island, and the Bishop consenting, he moved over and took up his residence in a small house on the church lot.

On January 24, 1901, Bishop Willis united in Holy Matrimony, the Rev. William Ault and Miss Elizabeth Mary Caroline Hayselden (daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hayselden). Mrs. Ault's mother was the daughter

of the elder Henry Dickenson, and sister of the younger Henry Dickenson, so long associated with the Church in Lahaina.

A few months later the Rev. Albert B. Weymouth, M. D., from the Diocese of Los Angeles, took up the work at Lahaina. He was born at Chelsea, Mass., and was a graduate of Harvard University. He had been ordained late in life in the Diocese of Los Angeles, and his examining chaplains were the Rev. A. G. L. Trew and Dean Restarick. He was a scholar and a man of singularly gentle disposition and had the respect and confidence of all who knew him. He lived in the old St. Cross building and there the first American Bishop found him in 1902.

LAHAINA UNDER THE FIRST AMERICAN BISHOP.

Lahaina was visited four months after my arrival and on December 5, 1902, a reception was tendered me at the residence of Fred Hayselden. The house was a historic one—it had been a residence of Kamehameha IV and here H. A. Neilson, the uncle of E. H. Harriman, was shot in 1859. Adjoining it was the lot where the chief Paki and his wife Konia had lived, and here Bernice Pauahi (Bishop) spent her early years, as did her foster sister Lydia (Liliuokalani). The Roman Catholic Priest stood next to me, introducing me to the people.

Dr. Weymouth's quarters (St. Cross house) were then in a ruinous condition. He faithfully ministered to the people until his age, in 1908, suggested his retirement.

Miss Hilda Van Deerlin, on her return to Hawaii from St. Faith's Training School, New York, in 1907, was sent to Lahaina to help in the Church work, and there she opened a night school. She remained a year, until the Rev. Leopold Kroll, from the Diocese of Albany, came to take charge in 1908. At first Mr. and Mrs. Kroll and their three small sons lived in a small house close to a livery stable where it was hot and disagreeable.

Mr. Kroll soon saw that if aggressive work was to be done, there must be a hall for meetings and entertainments. This was soon built with a stage and two dressing rooms. As soon as it was finished the Kroll family moved in, using the stage and dressing rooms as a residence. Then Mr. Kroll opened a day school in the hall, which was well attended. He also carried on the night school for Orientals which Miss Van Deerlin had established. From this school many were baptized, and at one time he presented 13 Koreans for Confirmation.

In the hall entertainments were given and at Christmas the young people had simple pageants arranged by Mr. and Mrs. Kroll.

A house for the clergyman was badly needed, and an exchange was effected with the B. P. Bishop Estate, by which in return for the St. Cross property the Church received a fine site on the beach, where the house of the chief Paki had stood. By the help of the Diocesan Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary a comfortable house was built, and by hard work Mr. Kroll soon set the grounds in attractive order. This was in 1909.

Mrs. Kroll was of great assistance in the work. She taught the girls in a cooking class and instructed them in matters pertaining to the homes. She helped get up entertainments and was a true helpmeet as a minister's wife.

During Mr. Kroll's time the mission was in good condition, but it suffered greatly later, due to removals to Honolulu. In July, 1910, Mr. Kroll was appointed to the charge of the Hawaiian congregation at the Cathedral. Mrs. L. F. Folsom and Miss Blake were sent to Lahaina to take charge of the school, and Dr. Weymouth took the services until the arrival of the Rev. J. Knox Bodel in 1911. Mr. Bodel remained till 1915, when he was succeeded by the Rev. F. N. Cockcroft.

In 1912 Miss Roberta S. Caldwell was appointed to the

school at Lahaina. She was a graduate of the San Jose Normal School and had also fitted herself for mission work at the Deaconess Training School at Berkeley, California.

During the six years spent in Lahaina she not only taught, but she took a personal interest in the lives of the children in their homes. The little home that was built for her on the parsonage lot was always open to the girls and women of the mission, over whom she had a great influence. When, in 1918, she was transferred to Iolani School, she was succeeded by Miss Ruth Yap, a graduate of St. Andrew's Priory. She did excellent work, and her knowledge of sewing, cutting and fitting was passed on to the girls under her care. Miss Yap left Lahaina and went to Boston to receive a nurse's training, later marrying Dr. M. F. Chung, a former Iolani boy and a graduate of the Harvard Medical School.

WAILUKU AND ULUPALAKUA.

There were many English and American Churchmen scattered over the Islands when Bishop Staley came in 1862, and they, as well as other foreigners, would have been glad of a religious service in the English language.

At this time there resided at Ulupalakua, twenty-seven miles from Wailuku, Captain James Makee from Massachusetts. He had a sugar plantation on the slopes of Haleakala, with his residence at Ulupalakua. Here, at an elevation of 1,600 feet and over, he grew native varieties of cane, and had cattle on the range. He had a family of young children and was anxious about their education. On a visit to Honolulu, he made known to the captain of a vessel his need of a suitable person as a tutor. The ship's master told him that he had among his crew a well educated man of a good family, who, as Richard H. Dana had done, was taking a voyage as a sailor before the mast. The skipper said: "See the man and talk the matter over with him, and if he suits you, I will give him his discharge."

CHURCH AND SCHOOL, WAILUKU, 1867

This sailor was George B. Whipple, the brother of the Right Rev. Henry B. Whipple, who was then Bishop of Minnesota. The result of the interview was that Mr. Whipple went to Ulupalakua as the tutor of the Makee children. Young Whipple also acted as lay-reader and held Prayer Book services in a room fitted up as a chapel. He stayed some time, during which he acquired a knowledge of Hawaiian. He determined to study for the ministry and returned to Minnesota, where, in due time, he was ordained by his brother.

The above was communicated to me by Colonel Whipple, U. S. A., the son of Bishop Whipple, with whom I had an interview at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in 1904, when he was on his way home after service in the Philippines.

In 1865, when Bishop Staley visited the United States, he had secured from the American Church the promise of half the salaries of two clergymen. Having been informed that the Rev. George Whipple had lived some time in the Islands and spoke Hawaiian, he urged him to go out and open a mission at Wailuku. The outcome was that Mr. and Mrs. Whipple reached Honolulu early in 1866, and on Sunday, February 18, they landed at Maalaea Bay. They were not expected, and there was no one to meet them, and no conveyance could be obtained. Mr. Whipple decided to remain with the baggage, while Mrs. Whipple and a part-Indian girl, whom they had brought with them, set out to walk to Wailuku. They got as far as Waikapu, a distance of four and a half miles, where they stopped until Mr. Whipple joined them, which he did during the day.

On Sunday, February 25, service was held in a school house at Wailuku, and, as soon as possible, arrangements were made for the establishment of the mission. The King, Kamehameha V, gave 1.84 acres of land on which to erect mission buildings. (The deed for this was not obtained from the Crown Commissioners until 1873). On this lot

the Church of the Good Shepherd was built and was first used for service on Christmas Day, 1866. A school building and a residence were also erected.

Mr. and Mrs. Whipple were indefatigable workers. On Sundays there were four services, two of which were in Hawaiian. During the week there was a school for boys, with the teaching in English. There was another school for girls taught by Mrs. Whipple, assisted by the part-Indian girl, who had been educated in one of Bishop Whipple's schools, and was competent, not only to teach, but to play the reed organ. She afterwards married one of the Mossman family and has numerous descendants. Several of her grandchildren are today members of St. Andrew's Cathedral parish.

Every alternate Sunday Mr. Whipple held service at Ulupalakua, in Captain Makee's private chapel, in which he had placed a small organ. He was anxious that his family and his working people should have religious services. He had several hundred natives working for him. He had built a village for them, provided good water, and for that day, good sanitary arrangements. He took great interest in their welfare, and they were devoted to him. He furnished them with beef and poi, and though at that time wages were small, their wants were well supplied. His plantation was in that day considered a large one. The methods used did not result in a large extraction, and one ton of sugar to the acre was not considered a bad return, but as sugar brought about seventeen cents a pound, and because labor was cheap, money was made.

Captain Makee paid a large part of Mr. Whipple's stipend and was interested in his work at Wailuku, and it was he who paid for ceiling the new church.

In May, 1867, Bishop Staley went to Wailuku at the time when Queen Emma was there on a visit. She was accompanied by Governor Nahaolelua, Colonel David Kala-

kaua and others. On May 14, a hookopu was held and the natives flocked with their offerings of eggs, fowls, fish, taro, etc., to lay at the feet of their alii (chief). Her Majesty visited the day schools and the night school for adults who wished to learn English.

There were some interesting meetings during the week, at one of which Kalakaua made an address on the Church services. He said that in approaching an earthly king they would kneel or even crawl to his feet, "and yet can you think it proper to ask a favor of the King of Kings without any outward mark of respect, sitting upright, when you are praying to Him?"

On Sunday at 9 a. m. the service was in Hawaiian, and at its close fourteen persons were confirmed.

During Mr. Whipple's residence at Wailuku the congregations were good and the schools were prosperous, but prior to 1872, Captain Makee had induced him to give his undivided attention to Ulupalakua. Here he worked among the Hawaiians, holding services for them, and was chaplain and teacher for the family, which consisted of two sons, Charles and Parker, and five daughters, well known in the Islands as Mrs. Z. S. Spalding, Mrs. Frank Hastings, Mrs. D. Noonan, Mrs. Clarence Macfarlane, Mrs. George Herbert and Mrs. E. D. Tenney.

In August, 1872, Bishop Willis visited Maui, and, landing at Lahaina, rode to Ulupalakua, where he held service in the chapel. During the week he rode to Wailuku with Mr. Whipple and found the mission buildings in good order, but the once prosperous work was going to pieces. Mr. Whipple offered to hold services once a month at Wailuku, and this arrangement was made.

The Bishop returned to Ulupalakua and was shown over the plantation by Captain Makee. Ulupalakua was noted for its hospitality. A man-of-war once anchored off the coast below the ranch and the officers and crew were

invited to come to the plantation where a grand feast was prepared for them.

In 1873 Mr. Whipple was anxious to raise funds to build a church for the Hawaiians at Ulupalakua. Captain Makee, desirous that the natives should have the best pastoral care possible, had given a site for the church, and was ready to render aid in every way, and the Hawaiians had contributed according to their means. But the church was not built for Mr. Whipple left the Islands in that year, his brother, the Bishop, requiring his help in Minnesota.

It was not until the summer of 1874 that the Rev. J. Bridger arrived and took charge of Wailuku and Ulupalakua. Mr. Bridger was warmly received. Most of the Church people had moved away, but the Congregationalists, having no minister for English speaking people, joined in his support. He held occasional services at Haiku, where Albert Sala had a school and acted as lay reader. The school at Wailuku was continued by Mr. Ditcham, the assistant teacher, and Mr. Bridger rode to Ulupalakua for services twice a month.

In the Diocesan Magazine for May, 1875, is the following: "Easter Day was well observed at Ulupalakua. The chapel was most tastefully decorated, special attention being bestowed upon the chancel. Willing hands had spent much time in making the little sanctuary most beautiful. The altar was vested in white and the crowning decoration was an exquisite floral cross above it. Appropriate texts were placed on the walls. Fine old Easter hymns were sung, including: Jesus Christ is Risen Today. There was a celebration of the Holy Communion, and two full services, with good congregations at both."

In Holy Week, 1877, Mrs. Bridger died and was buried in the churchyard at Wailuku. Her death led to the resignation of Mr. Bridger, who felt it his duty to return to

England with his small children. He left the Islands in June.

Before going on with the story of Wailuku, this is a convenient place to close the account of Ulupalakua. When Captain Makee began to grow cane, a dense forest covered the side of Haleakala above the plantation, ensuring sufficient moisture for crops. As years passed, cattle and other causes led to the destruction of the trees and, as a consequence, there was less rain, and it became too dry for the raising of sugar cane. Its cultivation was accordingly given up and the land was used for a cattle range. By this time Captain Makee had acquired interest in cane land elsewhere.

Captain Makee had a house in Honolulu on the makai Ewa corner of Beretania and Union Streets, and here he entertained generously, with special attention to the officers of ships of war. Here he died, in 1879, and his body was taken to Maui and laid to rest in a fine mausoleum. The mortal remains of his wife, who died in San Francisco in 1882, were later deposited by the side of her husband, but when the place was sold, both bodies were removed to Nuuanu cemetery, Honolulu.

For some years Charles Makee, the son, managed the ranch until it passed into other hands. The house and the mausoleum still remain in that beautiful location where Captain Makee had for years, under many difficulties, maintained the ministrations of a clergyman.

To return to Wailuku. After Mr. Bridger left, Mr. Swan carried on the school until the Rev. Sidney Wilbur arrived from California. It was during his incumbency that H. M. von Holt, who had attended the Bishop Scott Academy in Portland, Oregon, became assistant teacher at the school in Wailuku. He remained but a short time, for he found the food provided was not sufficient for a growing youth. Mr. Wilbur remained until February, 1880, and was followed in May by the Rev. Charles E. Groser. He

and the Rev. Messrs. Whipple and Wilbur were all Americans.

Under new regulations the Government grant to the school of $350 per annum was now withdrawn, but the loss did not result in its closing. At this time its pupils nearly equalled in number those of the Government school, for the Church school was preferred by many residents, both native and foreign.

In 1884, however, Mr. Groser grew much discouraged and the school, after existing since 1866, was closed. The congregations were small and the people indifferent, so that, after five years on Maui, he accepted work in Australia. He left in April, 1885, and was transferred to the Diocese of Perth, where he settled permanently.

After this, Wailuku suffered from the lack of a resident clergyman, but was served by the priest stationed at Lahaina. The Rev. Vincent Kitcat was in charge from 1890 to 1892, and after that there was no resident priest until 1894, when the Rev. William Horsfall came. He left in 1896 and the Rev. William Ault succeeded him.

At the end of 1899 the people of Wailuku wanted a resident clergyman, and there being no Congregational minister at the place, all interested in having religious services in English united in an agreement to support the Rev. William Ault, if he would give them his whole time and come and live there. Mr. Ault at once moved to Wailuku and took up his residence in one of the two houses on the church lot. He was made a Canon of the Cathedral by Bishop Willis, and, as his chaplain, accompanied the Bishop to the General Convention in San Francisco in 1901, when arrangements were made to place the Anglican Church in Hawaii under American jurisdiction.

WAILUKU UNDER THE FIRST AMERICAN BISHOP.

Canon Ault was present in the Cathedral when Bishop Nichols took over the Anglican Church on April 1, 1902,

and again, when I held my first service on August 10 of the same year.

On December 8, 1902, I visited Wailuku, remaining there one week as the guest of Canon Ault. The parsonage was in a deplorable state, a portion of the church lot next to the parsonage was rented to a livery stable, and the yard was a quagmire of filth and mud. I organized the congregation as a mission, appointing Charles D. Lufkin, warden, C. B. Wells, treasurer, and J. N. Keola, clerk. Mr. Wells was then manager of the Wailuku plantation, and although not a Churchman, believed that one English speaking congregation was sufficient for the place. In fact, Canon Ault was "the parson" of the district, ministering to all who called upon him. He held service, not only at Wailuku, but also at Puunene, by arrangement with H. P. Baldwin, the manager of extensive sugar interests on Maui.

There could be no proper history of this Church at Wailuku without special mention of Henry Perrine Baldwin. It was my privilege to know intimately this truly remarkable man. He was the son of the Rev. Dwight Baldwin, M. D., who came to the Islands in 1831 and was Government physician for Maui, Molokai and Lanai, from 1835 to 1871, from which Islands, by vigilant personal service, he kept away the terrible smallpox scourge during the epidemic of 1853. Dr. Baldwin labored for 35 years without a vacation, while missionaries now think they must have a long furlough every five years. Henry Perrine Baldwin was born in 1842. On leaving Punahou school he began active work, and, in 1863, he began planting cane at Lahaina, intending to earn money to go to Williams College, and then to study medicine. But this was not to be, for in a short time he became head luna under Samuel Alexander on the Waihee plantation.

The story of Mr. Baldwin's arduous labors, and the frequent occasions when he faced financial ruin, are graphically

told in the memoir of his life compiled by his son, Arthur D. Baldwin, and privately printed for the family and friends. I wish every boy in the Territory of Hawaii could read this book, and learn of the hard personal work, the courage, the endurance, the integrity and the largeness of heart of H. P. Baldwin. He took advantage of opportunities and won the confidence, the respect and the loyal affection of all who knew him.

He married, in 1870, Emily Whitney Alexander, a daughter of the Rev. W. P. Alexander, who labored for forty years on Maui. In 1874, Mr. Baldwin's right hand was caught in the rollers of the sugar mill at Paia and his arm was crushed so badly that it had to be amputated near the shoulder. Mrs. Baldwin, who was within a week of confinement, hearing that an accident had befallen him, mounted a horse and hurried to his bedside.

Mr. Baldwin was fond of music and had played the reed organ at the Church services at Lahaina and elsewhere. After the accident he ordered two cabinet organs with pedal bass, one for his home and one for his church, and with his left hand continued for years to play the hymns at the Makawao Church.

By industry, enterprise and foresight he became a wealthy man. He was not so engrossed in his business as to prevent him from giving much time to public affairs and serving the people in many capacities. He was loyal to constituted authority and entertained lavishly both Kalakaua and Liliuokalani when they visited Maui. When the overthrow occurred he advised constitutional methods, but when it was accomplished he became a wise and useful councillor and pacifier.

One night in 1903, at Maalaea Bay, he and I were waiting for the Mauna Loa, which was late. For four hours we sat together in his carriage and talked of the deep things of life. He told me that early in his career he had taken

a vow to give a definite part of his income for religious and other helpful purposes, and that he was glad that he had done this, because he always knew how much he ought to give. His benefactions on Maui are too numerous to mention, and his solicitude for the welfare of those who worked for him, of whatever race, endeared him to all. I remember his asking me among other things what I thought his duty was in regard to helping support the Buddhists in their temples and schools. A host of his laborers belonged to that religion, and ought he to aid them in what they believed to be right, and which they seemed to need? He was a simple, devout and earnest Christian, and the question was a difficult one for him to decide, and under the peculiar circumstances it was difficult for me to give an opinion without serious consideration.

He remained my friend as long as he lived, and the last interview I had with him was in Honolulu when he told me of his plans to build and endow a home for aged men on Maui, in memory of his son Fred, who had recently died. He knew at the time that I had been urged to start such a home, but when he confided in me, I said: "Mr Baldwin, I will not under any circumstances consider organizing such an institution, now that I know your wish." That was the last time that I saw him alive. On July 10, 1911, I looked on his face as he lay in his coffin at Maluhia, and with the thousands who attended his burial I mourned the loss of a friend.

In private letters to me Mr. Baldwin had shown that humility and trust and deep sense of responsibility which revealed his true greatness. I wrote "An Appreciation of H. P. Baldwin" for the Hawaiian Church Chronicle, which was included in his memoir.

On my first visit to Wailuku I found that Mr. Baldwin contributed towards the support of the Church of the Good

Shepherd, and, further, that he gave $300 a year for services at Puunene. This was generously continued by his family after his death.

On my advice the Church Committee at Wailuku, in 1903, discontinued renting a portion of the lot used by the livery stable, and in August, 1903, the Board of Directors considered the proposal of C. D. Lufkin of the First National Bank of Wailuku to lease a portion of the church land, including the house then rented. The sum offered was $300 a year, which was then considered a fair return. Accompanying the offer, it was also proposed to remodel the house and put it in thorough repair and to erect a bank building on a portion of the lot. A mistake was made in agreeing to a clause in the lease which provided for its extension, as was realized when it expired and rents were much higher. It was agreed that the Church pay $300 towards the repair of the house, which, when completed, had cost $1,500.

In reconstructing the house the beams were found to be marked G. B. W. (George B. Whipple) and this was most interesting because Mr. and Mrs. Lufkin, who were to reside in it, were both from Faribault, Minnesota, and had there known Mr. and Mrs. Whipple well. Mr. Lufkin was a graduate of Shattuck Military Academy and Mrs. Lufkin of St. Mary's Hall, Bishop Whipple's schools.

A commendable feature of the Church of the Good Shepherd was that when the Sunday School closed, the children attended the Church services in a body.

After consultation a day school was opened by Canon Ault, and from this confirmation classes were prepared. It was an excellent arrangement at that time and supplied a need.

It was seen that a new house was sadly needed for the clergyman and before long a comfortable parsonage was erected. This being accomplished, a movement was set on

CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD, WAILUKU
Consecrated 1911

foot for a new church and plans were prepared for a concrete edifice. The people of East Maui gave liberally, some other help was obtained, and the building was started, but before it was finished Canon Ault was made vicar of the Cathedral and moved to Honolulu in May, 1910, and the Rev. W. S. Short was chosen in his place.

The church, which is an attractive building and well appointed, was consecrated on the Sunday after Easter, 1911.

Mr. Short continued the day school for about a year and then it was closed. He remained until 1913 and in a few months the Rev. J. Charles Villiers succeeded him. Mr. Villiers has continued the work, and his wife, who is an accomplished musician, plays the pipe organ and drills the choir, the result being that the music has been exceptionally well rendered. At Wailuku the work under the Hawaiian Board has many paid workers in all lines of religious and welfare activities, while Mr. Villiers is alone.

ST. JOHN'S CHINESE MISSION, KULA.

In November, 1900, Bishop Willis received a communication from a number of Chinese farmers at Kula, Maui, requesting him to establish a mission at that place. Taking with him Yap See Young as interpreter he visited Kula, holding service in the old Kamakele native church. Here he celebrated the Holy Communion, six people receiving the Blessed Sacrament. He also baptized nine children.

After investigating the field, he licensed Shim Yin Chin as a lay reader. This man was a Lutheran minister, educated at the Basle mission, and had been engaged in 1899 by the Kula people as a teacher of Chinese for their children. The Bishop went again to Kula in April, 1901, and confirmed seven adults.

After 1902 I saw Shim Yin Chin several times and was much impressed with his earnestness and devotion. I sent the Rev. Kong Yin Tet to Kula on two occasions to ad-

minister the Holy Communion, but my first visit was in June, 1905, when I took Mr. Kong with me as interpreter, as neither Mr. Shim nor his congregation understood English. In those days it was a hard drive to Keokea, where the mission was situated. It took nearly all day to make the continual climb from Wailuku up the side of Haleakala. I was entertained by Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Atherton, who were then staying at the house of Mrs. Dora von Tempsky.

The services were still held in the ruins of the old native church, of which only the bare walls remained, and most of the roof was gone. The first service was the baptism of seven, followed by the confirmation of three candidates. Then came a celebration of the Holy Communion. I have baptized people using the Japanese language, and confirmed using Hawaiian, and coming up the mountain, had practiced Chinese for the Confirmation sentence. But I gave it up, as a most solemn word, unless one got the right accent, meant "pig" instead of Lord, in the Hakka dialect.

The question of a church was considered, as was the whole matter of the prospects of the mission. Mr. Shim Yin Chin was a remarkable man. When he was examined for deacon's orders he was asked to name the Messianic psalms. He went on and on saying something in Chinese, and when Mr. Kong was asked what he was saying, we were told that he was repeating them. Mr. Kong said that Mr. Shim could recite the entire gospels. He was ordained deacon on May 8, 1905, and priest in 1907.

When attending the annual meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary, the women always wanted to have him address them. Although they could not understand a word, his animated manner delighted them, and one often got an idea of what he was saying before getting Mr. Kong's interpretation, from the expressive gestures which he made. His appeals always received a generous response. When he

wanted a horse to visit his people, he illustrated it by prancing across the platform, and at once a horse was promised by Mr. von Holt, the women adding a saddle and bridle.

On my next visit to Kula, I was the guest of David Morton, a Hawaiian, who was the first man married in the choir of the Cathedral when it was opened for services on Christmas Day, 1886.

An acre of government land, under lease to an estate, was provided as a site for a church and by the help of the people of St. Peter's, Honolulu, and the District Woman's Auxiliary, a church was built, also a house for Mr. Shim Yin Chin.

Great preparations were always made by the Kula Chinese for the Bishop's visitations. His arrival at the church was announced by the explosion of many fire-crackers, and after service a feast was provided for all.

Mr. Shim did a fine work at Kula. He organized a club called "The World's Knowledge Society," for reading and discussion, and at one time had a meeting at which the men gave up their opium pipes. He had a large Sunday School and presented many for confirmation.

His death, at Kula on June 27, 1918, was a great blow to the mission, and he was sincerely mourned by the people on Maui and on Oahu. His body was brought to Honolulu for burial in the Chinese Christian cemetery at Makiki.

The work was later carried on by the catechist, Kau Hau Yin, and on his retirement, by his brother, Kau Yau Yin.

CHAPTER XXXVII

HAWAII.

KEALAKEKUA AND JOURNEYS ON HAWAII. KOHALA.

At Kealakekua, Hawaii, Bishop Staley found an opening for a mission station. Henry N. Greenwell and others were ready to welcome the Anglican Church. Mr. Greenwell had been an officer in the British Army in India, but had resigned, and came to Hawaii by way of Australia. At first he engaged in business in Honolulu, and then went to Kona where he tried the copra industry, and from that, early in the fifties, he turned his attention to the growing of oranges, there being many trees of this fruit in the district. He hoped to develop a market for oranges in California, where certain Hawaiian products then had a market. A blight attacking the trees, he went to the West Indies to observe the method of raising citrous fruit and to find a remedy for the blight. On the Island of Montserrat, famous for its lime juice, he met Miss Elizabeth C. Hall and returned with this lady as his wife. She has indeed been a mother in Israel in the Kona Church and district. Mr. Greenwell went into the cattle and sheep business and acquired by purchase and lease large tracts of land for his ranch.

In 1867, the Rev. C. G. Williamson arrived from England and was sent to Kealakekua. A church was built on land belonging to W. L. Green, which was subject to lease, which lease was bought in 1874, and two acres of land were deeded to the Anglican Church in Hawaii. Mr. Greenwell gave, in 1873, an adjoining piece containing 7,673 square feet, and another piece of 2.8 acres was purchased from John D. Paris.

Mr. Williamson opened a school, but in 1868 severe earthquakes occurred in the district, of which the clergyman

counted 300 shocks. At this time there was an eruption of Mauna Loa and a tidal wave which swept the coast of Kau, where the sea came in as high as the tops of coconut trees, causing considerable loss of life. Queen Emma collected food and clothing and Kamehameha V went in person to relieve those who had suffered loss.

Mr. Williamson became alarmed by the disturbances of the earth and left Kona, going for a short time to Lahaina and then to Honolulu. During the vacancy the Rev. C. Searle and then Albert Sala, as lay reader, kept the Church open.

The Rev. Samuel H. Davis and wife came to the Islands with Bishop Willis and were at once sent to Kona. The Bishop went to Hawaii in April, 1873, and held service at Waimea Court House. It was well attended by foreigners and he writes that there was great need for a clergyman at this place. (For a short time the Rev. Mr. Searle, who came from Australia, lived at Waimea and opened a school in 1874 and next year moved the boys to Lahaina.)

The Bishop proceeded to Kealakekua, where he found the Rev. Mr. Davis had greatly improved the Church property by hard, personal labor. On this visit he held the first confirmation ever administered by a Bishop of the Anglican Church in the district. He found that he had a school which was making excellent progress, and a family boarding school for girls had been opened in the parsonage, Mrs. Davis giving personal attention to their care and instruction.

In November of the same year the Bishop again visited Kealakekua and rode from that place to Waiohinu, about 43 miles, where he held service.

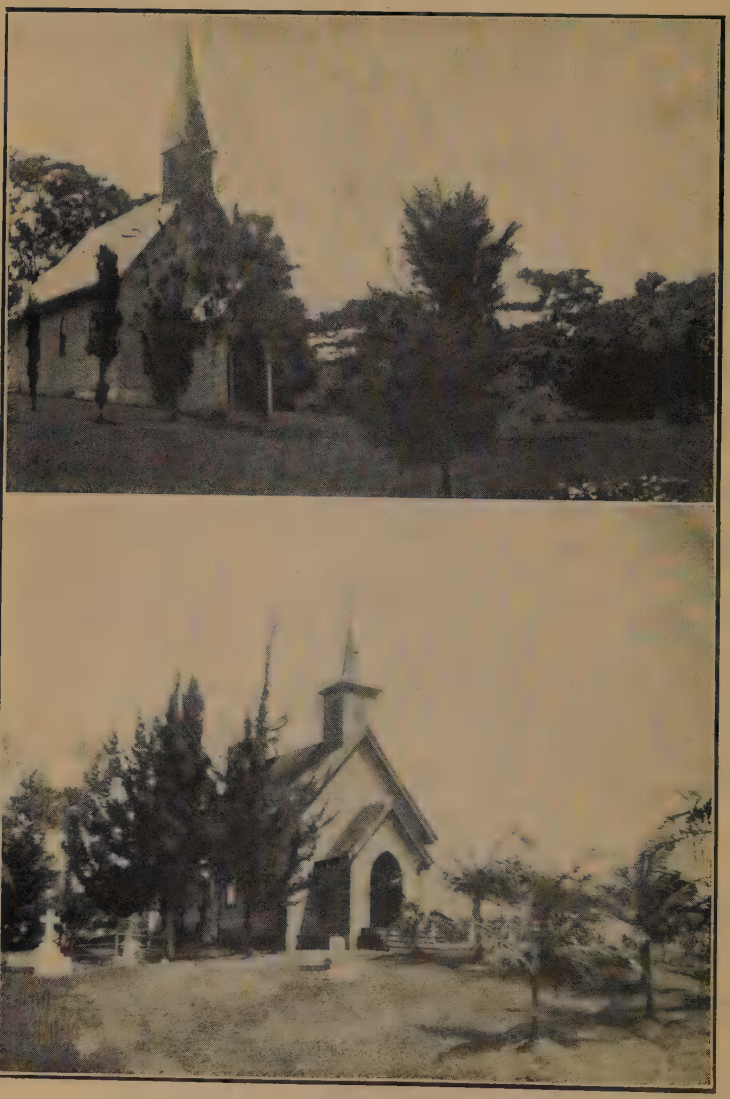
On his return journey to Christ Church, he slept in the open on brush that he had gathered, and rising at 3:30 a. m. he saddled his horse and reached the parsonage at Kealakekua at 1 p. m. He writes that Mr. Davis had cleared a part of the church lot for a cemetery and had fenced it.

On November 20 the Bishop rode to Kailua and called on the King, who was there on a visit. Leaving that place at 4 p. m. he made his way towards Kawaihae, spending the night on a bed of clinkers. At 4 a. m. he was again on his way, and, passing the night at Kawaihae, he proceeded early the next morning to Puuhue, where he took breakfast with the family of James Woods and then set out for Dr. Wight's at Kohala. On Sunday, November 23, he celebrated the Holy Communion in Dr. Wight's house and leaving on the 25th, he stopped at Puuhue to baptize an infant. He reached Mr. Spencer's at Waimea in the afternoon and next day he baptized three children, sailing on the 27th from Kawaihae for Honolulu.

In such a journey as I have described we learn something about traveling in those days. I have gone over the same ground in a carriage and later in an automobile, and the journey was not an easy one even then with fairly good roads, but it was far different from riding on trails, though Bishop Willis never mentions discomforts or fatigue. He was a man of remarkable endurance and had the true spirit of a missionary.

In April, 1874, accompanied by Mr. Trembeth, a man skilled in music, and four choir boys from Iolani, the Bishop visited Kealakekua, and on the 24th consecrated Christ Church. The furnishings for the altar had been sent out from England by friends of the mission. A portion of the Churchyard was consecrated as a place of burial. Those who visit Christ Church and take delight in the beautiful and restful churchyard, should remember how much of what is seen there is due to the manual labor of the Rev. S. H. Davis. It was he who cleared the land of the dense growth of guava bushes and planted the trees.

Before returning to Honolulu, the Bishop, accompanied by an Iolani boy, rode around the Island of Hawaii. First they went over the rough trail to Waiohinu. As one could



UPPER—CHRIST CHURCH, KONA.
LOWER—ST. AUGUSTINE'S, KOHALA.

not obtain anything to eat on the road except poi, provisions for several meals were carried. On the road from Waiohinu to the volcano they turned aside to Kaalualu to see the drift wood on the beach brought by ocean currents. They saw huge trunks of redwood, cedar and pine, one of the last named being 75 feet long. They were told that an Indian canoe was washed ashore a short time before their visit.

From Waiohinu they made their way to the volcano, 37 miles distant, and found it very active. Next day they started for Hilo by way of Puna, which entailed a ride of 65 miles. They passed a part of the night at a native's house, rising at 2 a. m. and proceeding on their journey to Hilo, where they only stayed for a few hours, being anxious to reach Waimea by Sunday. From Hilo the road crossed numerous gulches with steep sides and rushing streams, and on the uplands, miles through deep mud. They did not reach Laupahoehoe that night but stayed with a native who entertained them with the best he had, breadfruit and poi, and shrimps. The light for the meal came from a wick in a saucepan of fat, and when that burned out a string of kukui nuts took its place.

Up the Hamakua coast they saw many churches but the native population had gone. The Bishop asks the question: "Will the land have another population, or is this beautiful country to be left a wilderness to be roamed over by herds of cattle?" He lived to see it covered with plantations of cane, and numerous villages inhabited by people of many races.

When they reached Honokaa they found an attempt had been made to start a plantation. By way of mud lane (which I have ridden over in its worst state) they passed through Waimea on their way to Kawaihae, where they took a schooner for Honolulu.

In December, 1874, a sad accident occurred at Kailua. A young officer named Lambert, from a British man of

war, was drowned while bathing. Professor Forbes, while trying to save him, would have lost his life if natives in a canoe had not rescued him. Twelve Hawaiians, under conduct of Sheriff Simon Kaai, carried the body over the steep and tortuous road, ten miles, to Christ Church, where he was buried. A handsome tombstone sent from England by his relatives marks this grave.

Mr. Davis employed his leisure hours in making a hexagonal font for the Church. It was shaped from a solid trunk of koa which had been brought down from the mountains fourteen months before.

In the summer of 1877 Mr. Davis was moved by the Bishop to Lahaina, where, at that time, a priest was needed more than at Kealakekua. During his absence of two years Albert Sala acted as lay reader. Mr. Sala was the brother of George Augustus Sala, famous as a journalist and author. Albert Sala married a Hawaiian woman and taught school at Napoopoo in a large grass house loaned by Mrs. C. R. Bishop. He is buried in Christ Church cemetery.

Mr. Davis returned to Kealakekua in 1879 and remained in charge until 1902. During all this time he ministered to the people of the district, and for many years carried on his school. He was most anxious to raise an endowment fund for Christ Church, and to this end obtained gifts where he could, and earned money by selling Hawaiian stamps and making and selling jam. Money was also raised by various sales and fairs.

In the late years of his incumbency he became so deaf that he felt incapable of continuing his charge and in 1902 resigned. The Board of Trustees voted to give him the interest on the endowment fund, which was then nearly $5,000, during his lifetime.

When I arrived in Honolulu Henry Greenwell was acting as lay reader at Christ Church.

While in San Francisco, on the way to Hawaii in July,

1902, a young deacon called on me and offered to come to the Islands. I did not give him any special encouragement, but early in October a hack drove up to my residence on Beretania Street, and in it was the deacon and his newly wedded wife, who had just landed from a steamer. It was a surprise and he was made aware of the fact that he had not been invited to come. However, as Christ Church, Kona, was without a clergyman, the deacon was sent there on trial. Before leaving Honolulu his wife asked if there was a theater at Kona, and on being told that it was a scattered country district (this was before the days of moving picture theaters in the country districts) she was much disappointed.

I went with the couple to Hawaii and on reaching Kealakekua was the guest of Mrs. Greenwell, and while there called on the Church people. My mind was soon made up that the deacon was not the man for the place. When asked if he could ride, he said, "Oh, yes," and as this was a very necessary accomplishment if work was to be done, on further questioning he said: "Yes, I can ride, I have been on horseback once." He stayed but a short time and later wisely abandoned the ministry.

Later a most fortunate selection was made for Christ Church. The Rev. D. Douglas Wallace, of the Diocese of Sacramento, offered to come to Hawaii and received the appointment. Mr. and Mrs. Wallace arrived in 1905 and at once proceeded to their destination. On a visit in October, I found them in the parsonage with the grounds greatly improved and an addition to the cemetery cleared and ready for the consecration on October 10th.

The story of the Church at Kona from 1905 is that of Mr. Wallace and his excellent wife. None could have come who would have made themselves a part of the community so thoroughly as they. Mr. Wallace's charge extends from Christ Church to Puuwaawaa, the residence of Robert Hind,

32 miles in one direction, and to Waiohinu, about 43 miles in the other. At first Mr. Wallace had a horse and conveyance, but when automobiles became common the District Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary assisted him in the matter of hiring a car when he needed it, this being more economical than owning one. Under the supervision of the priest and his wife the Guild and congregation have done much welfare work in times of sickness, and, during the war, a great deal of Red Cross work, besides doing more than their share in missionary and Woman's Auxiliary efforts. The parsonage has been a center of activity in local helpfulness, as well as missionary enterprise. Soon after their coming the house was greatly improved and repaired and under its hospitable roof, visiting clergy, Church folk and friends have always found a hearty welcome. No Church known to me anywhere has so large a proportion of the white population in attendance at the services. Distances and the sparse population militate against large congregations, but they are very good considering the number of white people in the district.

When Mr. Wallace took charge there was no Guild, but one was soon organized and each year it has done a large work. During the war the parsonage was the headquarters for the Red Cross in the district, and splendid service was rendered. Mrs. Wallace, being a trained nurse, was an able directress.

In 1915 there was a movement on foot to build a chapel at Koloko, fourteen miles distant from Christ Church, between Puuwaawaa and Kealakekua. The land was given by the late John Maguire and upon it a neat church was erected, which was consecrated in February, 1916, under the name of St. John the Baptist. Mr. Robert Hind gave the koa for the altar and Mrs. Wallace made the altar linen and hangings, with the assistance of the Diocesan Altar Department of the Woman's Auxiliary, of which Mrs. Restarick

was directress. In 1920 there were 48 communicants reported and receipts for all purposes were $1,828.

Christ Church is an example of what can be done by faithful service and continued residence by a clergyman and his wife who fit into the needs of a place. There is no opportunity for extended work except among Orientals, and this can only be done by catechists under the priest, but such have not been available, although Mr. Wallace has desired this help. No account of Christ Church would be complete without special mention of the wife of the priest, who has endeared herself to the community in a remarkable way. Mr. and Mrs. Wallace have had every assistance from the faithful Greenwell family, from Mr. and Mrs. Robert Wallace, Mr. and Mrs. R. V. Woods and the people generally.

KOHALA, HAWAII.

Early in the eighties a number of English Churchmen had settled at Kohala for the purpose of growing cane. So English was this district that it was sometimes called "Little Britain." These men corresponded with Bishop Willis as to the need of Church services, but for a time, he did not see his way clear to begin work there.

A Foreign Church had been in existence for some years, but members of the Anglican Church desired services and offered to support a clergyman.

Among the Churchmen in the district in those early days were the brothers Clement and Ralph Sneyd-Kynnersley, Ernest and Godfrey Burchart, James Woods of Puuhue, George Holmes, Jack Brodie, Robert Wallace, Robert Hall and members of the family of Dr. James Wight.

In 1882 the Rev. H. F. E. Whalley was sent to Kohala and the next year nearly half an acre of land was given by the George Holmes estate, on which St. Augustine's Church was soon erected and on February 10, 1884, it was consecrated. Every effort had been made that it should be a

suitable building. The altar, lectern and font were made from oak grown at Loxley Hall, an estate of the Sneyd-Kynnersley's in England. They were sent out ready to be put in place. The land surrounding the church was at the same time set apart as a cemetery and here a number of those interested in the building and maintenance of the church are buried.

All the costs of the improvements were met by local gifts and for many years the Kohala people paid the stipend of the priest, and also the upkeep of the property.

There were at this period a number of Chinese Christians, most of them on the Niulii plantation. In 1882 they formed themselves into a congregation with Luke Aseu as lay reader under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Whalley. Some of these were from Demarara and had been connected with an English Church mission, and some were from the Basle Lutheran mission in Canton, where they had received thorough instruction as to the Sacraments and Holy Days, and these people readily attached themselves to the Anglican Church.

St. Augustine's was some six miles from Niulii, so, in 1886, a half acre of land was obtained at Makapala on which St. Paul's Church was built for the Chinese and on February 10, 1889, it was consecrated.

Mr. Whalley was succeeded in 1888 by the Rev. J. M. W. Silver, who remained until April, 1892. During the vacancy C. Sneyd-Kynnersley acted as lay reader.

At Makapala a school with instruction in Chinese had been conducted for some time and on September 2, 1892, a school house was erected on the church lot. Mrs. Aseu, an excellent Chinese scholar, educated at the Basle mission, was the teacher until she and her husband removed to Honolulu in 1898.

St. Augustine's was without a resident priest for some time, but in December, 1894, the Rev. Henry Abud officiated

there for six months. In October of the same year, the Rev. Louis Byrde was appointed to take charge of St. Augustine's and St. Paul's. At these places services had been regularly maintained by C. Sneyd-Kynnersley and Luke Aseu, lay readers.

Mr. Byrde was especially active in the Chinese work and on one occasion presented eleven adults for confirmation, two of whom he had baptized by immersion at their request. He also held occasional service in Hawaiian, both at St. Augustine's and at St. Paul's.

In 1896 the Rev. Woo Yee Bew, deacon, took charge of the Chinese congregation at Makapala.

After three years of earnest service Mr. Byrde resigned and went to China, where he became connected with the Church Missionary Society. It was not until January, 1899, that the vacancy was filled by the appointment of the Rev. Erasmus Van Deerlin, who remained until 1901.

Mr. Van Deerlin had resided at Makapala, which was inconvenient, so the people at Kohala purchased a house and lot adjoining the church property at St. Augustine's in which Robert Wallace had lived. The intention was to use the house as a parsonage, but owing to the unsettled condition of Church affairs in the Islands, the lot was deeded to three men as trustees. The Bishop refused to recognize the house as a parsonage because it was not deeded to the Church Corporation. The matter was not settled until the American Bishop arrived (in 1902) when, soon after, the property was deeded to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Hawaiian Islands.

When without a clergyman Robert Hall had served as lay reader at St. Augustine's He (and his sister) lived at Niulii, where he was manager of the plantation. Another sister was Mrs. Henry N. Greenwell of Kealakekua. Mr. Hall came from the Island of Montserrat, West Indies. He rendered valuable service as warden and lay reader at St.

Augustine's and was greatly interested in the work among the Chinese at Makapala near his home.

UNDER THE AMERICAN CHURCH.

I first visited Kohala in February, 1904, landing at Hilo and going overland by way of Waimea. Becoming the guest of Robert Hall, I visited the people of the district and on Sunday, February 15, held service at St. Augustine's. The congregation was still using the English Prayer Book but with the prayers for the royal family altered to conform to the change brought about by annexation. Before service American Prayer Books were distributed and then a brief explanation of the difference between the two books was given.

Robert Hall had been acting as lay reader since Mr. Van Deerlin left and Mr. Paetow was the organist. There were still in the district many English people or those of British descent.

In March, 1903, the Rev. W. H. Fenton-Smith with his mother arrived from the Diocese of Sacramento and was sent to Kohala. He was an earnest and devout man and did faithful work in the district, and his excellent mother, being a skillful needlewoman, was most helpful in providing and caring for the altar linen, hangings and vestments.

In 1906 Mr. Fenton-Smith removed to Hilo and was succeeded at Kohala by the Rev. Joseph W. Gunn, who opened a night school for Orientals and did work at Makapala among the Koreans, some of whom had belonged to the Church of England mission in Korea. Mrs. Gunn had a fine voice, which was of great assistance to the choir.

In 1911 the Rev. Frank W. Merrill from the Diocese of Fond du Lac was Mr. Gunn's successor. He was accustomed to missionary work, at one time having been general missionary in his Diocese. Besides St. Augustine's he had charge of St. Paul's, Makapala, and a Sunday School at Hawi. He also began monthly services at Waimea, where,

by his efforts, a neat chapel was built. He also conducted a night school for Orientals at Kohala. During his residence memorials were placed in St. Augustine's for the late C. Sneyd-Kynnersley, who had been so active in founding the Church in Kohala. A brass altar cross, brass candlesticks and carved oak panels for the altar, were given by his friends in memory "of his work and faithful support of the Church."

Mr. Merrill was greatly liked in the district and after he went to St. Elizabeth's, Honolulu, in 1915, he was urged to return.

After a brief interval the Rev. John Joseph Cowan went to Kohala. He had not remained long in previous charges, nor did he remain long at Kohala, and since leaving there, he has been in British Honduras, Nevada and Panama. He unfortunately antagonized the people by an address in which he seemed to express the opinion that the Hawaiians were unfitted to exercise the franchise. This naturally alienated the Hawaiians, some excellent people of this race being members of St. Augustine's.

Mr. James Walker, who had been a worker in the Church Army in England, came to the Islands in July, 1919, highly recommended for the Kohala work. A more satisfactory choice could not have been made. When he arrived it was explained to him that the old families were leaving the district but that there was a large work to be done among the English speaking young people, Hawaiians and Orientals, and into this work he threw his large heart and great energy. He entered into the life of the scattered community, interesting himself in the sports and general well being of all the people. In May, 1920, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Restarick. He has not only the work at St. Augustine's, where, despite discouraging removals of those who had long supported the Church, the congregations have been maintained. At Makapala the work demanded a

hall as a center for social activities and entertainments and this he has set out to obtain. He has greatly increased the interest of the people in missions and they have paid more than their quota.

Besides the two places mentioned, Mr. Walker has services every two weeks at Waimea, 25 miles distant from St. Augustine's. At the Korean mission, nine miles from the parsonage, there is a chapel, and here he celebrates the Holy Communion monthly. He has been requested to begin services at other places but he has more than he can do now. He has been offered work elsewhere, but he believes that to do good and lasting work a priest should stay with it. An additional man is needed not only to carry on present undertakings, but, still more, to extend the work in many directions. Kohala district demands another man of vigor, consecration and the true missionary spirit, such as it certainly has in the person of Mr. Walker.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

PAAUILO AND THE HAMAKUA DISTRICT—HILO.

The late Theo. H. Davies became interested in the development of the sugar industry in the Hamakua district in the eighties, and, as was his wont, desired to provide for the spiritual welfare of the workers on the plantations.

At first the clergy stationed at Kohala were expected to look after the needs of the Hamakua district as far as possible. Although Kohala is not a great distance from Honokaa in a direct line, yet, as impassable gulches lie between the two points, one has to travel many miles by way of Waimea (Kamuela) to go from one place to the other.

In May, 1891, the Rev. Thomas Eykyn was appointed locum tenens for three months to take the place of the Rev. T. M. V. Silver in the districts of Kohala and Hamakua. In 1893, the Rev. E. Lewis, deacon, was stationed at Hamakua. It was the intention of Mr. Davies to have a chaplain at Paauilo, a part of whose duty should be to conduct a school for the children of the white employees of the plantation.

Mr. Lewis was licensed to officiate at Paauilo and the adjacent parts between Kukuihaele and Laupahoehoe at which latter place Mr. Davies had interests. He did not remain long, for late in 1894 Reginald Callendar, B. A. of Christ College, Cambridge, was acting as lay reader in the district. On a visitation of the Bishop in October of that year, he baptized six children at Honokaa. There were more members of the Anglican Church at Honokaa at that time than at any place in the district, among them being Dr. and Mrs. Greenfield and their interesting family. At their hospitable home Bishop Willis and his successor were often entertained.

Mr. Callendar remained for some time as it was not until October, 1897, that the Rev. C. H. Tompkins arrived from England. In 1879, 2 1/5 acres of land at Honokaa had been obtained from the government for Church purposes and, in 1885, a portion of this land had been set aside for a cemetery, the remainder being intended for a church and parsonage.

In July, 1898, the hope was expressed that a church would soon be built at Honokaa and the Bishop reported that he had two hundred pounds for that purpose, but the church was never built.

On June 1, 1898, Bishop Willis arrived at Honokaa and administered baptism and confirmation in the Lyceum building. He expressed himself greatly pleased with the work of Mr. Tompkins.

The clergyman lived at Paauilo in a house provided by the plantation people, who had also erected a building for social affairs. One room of this building was to be used for Church services and was so arranged that the sanctuary could be shut off when the room was used for secular purposes.

Mr. Tompkins married a daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Greenfield and in 1902 left for England, expecting to return, but, after a visit of some months, he decided to remain there.

UNDER THE AMERICAN BISHOP.

I have vivid recollections of my first visit to the Hamakua district. It was in January, 1903, and traveling was not an easy matter in those days. All over the Island of Hawaii the Volcano Stables had stations and the traveling public hired conveyances from place to place. It had been raining for weeks and the roads were in a frightful state. Where there were no large stones there was deep mud. It was 26 miles to Papaaloa and the ride was anything but pleasant. The night was spent at the home of the manager,

Colin McLennan, where, in following years I passed many delightful days.

The next day luncheon was taken with Mr. and Mrs. Madden at Kukaiau. On the road to Honokaa, finding at Paauilo that the manager, Anthony Lidgate, lived quite a distance from the road, and where the road turned off, one of the horses lying down in despair in the deep mud, we changed our plan and pushed on to Dr. Greenfield's at Honokaa.

On my return to Honolulu, T. Clive Davies said that to visit Hamakua district and not to call on Mr. Lidgate was like Hamlet with Hamlet left out. In the years to come I knew the generous hospitality of the Lidgates and learned to admire the able, just and fine man who was manager and who, too early, one thought, was called to his rest, when it was hoped he might live to enjoy retirement from his active and useful life.

At this time the managers entertained many travellers and I never met a finer set of men. They were intelligent and well read and interested in the welfare of their laborers, often acting as judges in the many difficulties referred to them.

The next night was spent at the Greenfield's at Honokaa and the best method of reaching Kohala was discussed. I supposed that I should have to hire a carriage to take me to Waimea, and then get another to go over the mountain to Kohala, which was my destination. But that night there was another guest at the Greenfield's, a man traveling for a Hilo drug firm, who said I could go with him in his light wagon, if I did not mind stopping at the Chinese stores on the way, while he attended to his business. The offer was gladly accepted and on reaching Waimea we passed the night with Fred Carter, then manager of the Parker Ranch.

Next day, after baptizing a child at 7 a. m., we started for Kohala and had a miserably wet and cold ride. My

friend put up at the club and I hired a hack which took me 7 miles to Niulii where I was entertained by Robert Hall, the manager of the plantation.

A few months later, being informed that the Rev. Mr. Tompkins did not intend to return to the Islands, I went again to Paauilo and spent several days with the Lidgates, riding on horseback and visiting the scattered people. Mr. Lidgate told the most laughable stories of the old days, about travellers and preachers, which were valuable as illustrating conditions at that time.

Going on to Papaaloa I embarked on the Kinau from Laupahoehoe and made up my mind that was the last time I would ever attempt it. It was rough and the waves were so high that no ladder could be lowered, so when the boat came alongside the steamer, two stalwart Hawaiians grabbed the passengers one by one and tossed them into an open port, where they were caught by two other Hawaiians who were laughing at the fun.

I obtained a clergyman for Paauilo, who went there, but was so ill that he never held even one service. He returned at once to Honolulu and said that he must be sent home. As it had cost me a considerable sum to bring him and his wife and child from Pennsylvania, this news was appalling. On Sunday night I told Canon and Mrs. Mackintosh of my plight and Mrs. Mackintosh said, "I will help you. Meet me here at 10 o'clock, tomorrow morning." At the appointed hour she met me, saying: "Hold out your hand." To my surprise I found in it $250 in gold! This one act illustrated her character and the way she did things. She had collected the money that morning from friends and I can still see her radiant smile as she placed it in my hand. This and similar acts of kindness impressed me with the wonderful spirit of helpfulness of the people of Hawaii.

It was fortunate that I was able to send to Paauilo the Rev. Albert Hall, whom I had known since his boyhood in

California. Mr. Hall soon opened a school and held services at Paauilo and Papaaloa each Sunday.

When Mr. Hall was needed at Honolulu at Iolani, he was followed by the Rev. C. S. Linsley (1906), the Rev. R. Hilton (1908), the Rev. C. H. Bloor (1909), the Rev. F. N. Cullen (1911).

Mr. Cullen is still at Paauilo. During his incumbency the plantation at Papaaloa built a very neat chapel, services, up to this time, having been held in a hall. At first, like his predecessors, Mr. Cullen drove his horses from Paauilo to Papaaloa, a distance of twelve miles, for the evening service, but of later years his work has been made easier by the possession of an automobile.

Mr. Cullen's son, Herbert, while a student at the University of Hawaii, volunteered in the British Army and did fine work in the air service. Besides ministering to the people in this scattered district, Mr. Cullen has a small school for the children of employees of the plantation.

For some years Kojima, a Japanese catechist, was stationed at Paauilo, who did good work until he went back to Japan to study for the ministry, under Bishop McKim. He was a young man of fine promise but he died before he was ordained. A mission hall was built at Paauilo on a lot owned by the Church, and there for years Sunday School and mission services were held, but unfortunately it was impossible to get trained men for the place.

HILO.

Bishop Staley had in mind the starting of work at Hilo. Titus Coan wrote "He contemplates the supplanting of the American missionaries and the establishment of one grand Episcopal Diocese over all the Islands of the group. He came to Hilo with one of his clergy, ignoring the church so long established under its present pastor (Mr. Coan). He appointed his meeting in the English and Hawaiian languages and announced that he would establish two mis-

sions, one of English speaking residents and one of Hawaiian. He appointed two boards of trustees, one composed of members of my church and one of foreign residents and empowered them to collect funds and proselyte the people.

"He appointed a curate for Hilo and engaged board and lodging for him. He and the clergyman left, the latter to get his belongings. They did not soon return. His lordship overlooked the will of the people at Hilo. Letters went to Bishop Staley stating that his trustees had secured neither a proselyte nor a dollar. This was a damper if not an extinguisher.

"But the Bishop rallied again and appeared in Hilo and appointed meetings. His efforts were of no avail. People could not see why they should forsake their own and their fathers' friends.

"The Reformed Catholic Church never established a Church in Hilo. We wish to be liberal and to labor in loving harmony with all those who love the Lord Jesus, but we pity all who are exclusive and who vainly set themselves up as the only true church."[1]

Nothing further was done, although Bishop Willis, after his arrival, had his eye on this second town of the Islands and in 1899 sent the Rev. Erasmus Van Deerlin to report on the situation. He gathered together the members of the Anglican Church and held service in the Portuguese Protestant Church by kind permission of the pastor. The communicants met the following morning for a celebration of the Holy Communion.

Bishop Willis purchased a lot in Hilo with his own money, holding it for future use if it was needed.

On February 3, 1903, I started for Hilo, landing at Kawaihae, on account of a very rough sea. The passengers found two stages, but only one driver, so I volunteered to drive if the front stage would hang a lantern at the rear

[1] Life of Titus Coan.

so that I could find the way in the dark. The offer was accepted and I drove over a rough road twelve miles to Waimea. After breakfast I proceeded in the mail cart over the worst road possible to Honokaa where I hired a carriage.

During my six days' stay in Hilo, I called on all the Church people I could find. I was the guest of C. C. Kennedy, the manager of the Waiakea plantation, a prominent man in the Foreign Church. He told me that in conversation with others he had come to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to start our Church at Hilo, as there were a number of people who belonged to us who would not attend the Foreign Church, and there were others whom we might reach. On February 6th, a reception was tendered me which was largely attended. On Sunday, February 8th, at 8:30 a. m., I celebrated the Holy Communion in the Portuguese Protestant Church, and after the service, baptized the infant children of Thomas E. Cook and W. A. Todd. At 11 a. m. I made an address at the Haili Church, the Rev. Stephen Desha, the pastor, acting as interpreter. At 3 p. m. I held service and preached, after which a meeting was held and a mission was organized under the name of St. James. The Hilo Hotel not being used, I rented the dining room for Church services.

On February 24, 1903, I appointed the Rev. Sidney Morgan missionary at Hilo and parts adjacent. Mr. Morgan made an excellent impression, but after a year left the Islands. He was succeeded by the Rev. Walter C. Stewart, who left because of ill health.

Progressive work began at Hilo when the Rev. W. H. Fenton-Smith took charge in 1906. The Bishop and the priest-in-charge selected a lot on Waianuenue Street, which was purchased at a cost of $2,800, and on this a mission hall was erected, at the rear of which the clergyman and his mother lived for some time. The money for the land

and building came from subscriptions obtained locally, from the proceeds of entertainments and gifts to Mr. Fenton-Smith from friends.

In 1908 George C. Thomas wrote the Bishop that the Sunday School of the Church of the Holy Apostles, Philadelphia, of which he was superintendent, had a fund which had accumulated for years from offerings given in memory of teachers and pupils who had departed this life. This sum now amounted to nearly $4,000 and this would be given to erect the church at Hilo, provided the name was changed from St. James to that of the Holy Apostles. This was done and a further gift was made by Mr. Thomas to finish the church inside, this being done in koa wood, the gift of friends in Hilo.

The church was consecrated on April 25, 1909. Miss Julia A. Emery, the National Secretary of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions, who was on a visit to the Islands, was present.

Gifts of furniture were made by friends and the altar and reredos were of Mr. Fenton-Smith's own workmanship. His devoted mother was a clever needlewoman and contributed much in the way of beautiful embroideries. Later the parish hall was moved to the rear of the church and a comfortable parsonage was erected according to Mr. Fenton-Smith's plans and under his supervision. After eight years of faithful service he decided to return to California, where he is still doing missionary work.

In 1914 the Rev. J. Knox Bodel was sent to take charge of Hilo, remaining until 1917, when he received an appointment as Chaplain of the National Guard after the United States entered the war. He had been prominent in Hilo in all things connected with public community service. Later he was appointed Chaplain in the regular Army.

In 1918 the Rev. J. Lamb Doty took charge of the mission, which, under his judicious management soon became a

self-supporting parish. Mr. Doty entered into the life of Hilo as a public spirited citizen, and took an active part in the affairs of the community.

CHAPTER XXXIX

KAUAI.

In 1861 Lady Jane Franklin visited the Islands, hoping to hear from whalers, as they came from the north, some news of her husband, Sir John Franklin, the arctic explorer. While in Honolulu she was the guest of Robert C. Wyllie, and from him and from the King and Queen Emma, she learned that there was soon to be an Anglican mission founded in Hawaii.

Mr. Wyllie had a plantation at Hanalei, Kauai, and Lady Franklin accompanied her host on a visit to that Island. Above Princeville, as the plantation village was called, there is a hill with a fine view of the beautiful valley, and of the ocean stretching to the north and east. On the summit of this hill Lady Franklin loved to rest and meditate, gazing towards the far north where she vainly hoped her husband was still alive.

It was due to Mr. Wyllie that Bishop Staley, early in 1864, sent the Rev. J. J. Elkington to Kauai. He held services at Hanalei but did not remain long.

After the arrival of Bishop Willis in 1872, he had in mind the opening of a mission on Kauai, but did not succeed in doing this until 1881, when the Rev. Richard Wainwright was sent there. By arrangement with the Makee Sugar Company, he became chaplain of the plantation, which provided his stipend and built a chapel for his use. Mr. Wainwright next year married the sister of Bishop Willis, who had kept house for her brother up to this time. He left Kauai in 1885 and after this no regular services were held on the Island until the coming of the American Bishop.

In 1902 I learned that there were a number of baptized members and communicants on Kauai. Some of these

I met, and others had written me asking for the services of the Church, to which they were attached. In July, 1903, having provided myself with a list of our adherents, I visited Kauai to look over the field, and to see what opportunity there was for ministering to our people scattered over the Island. I landed at Nawiliwili at 3 a. m. and drove some twenty miles before breakfast. I was to be the guest of the Knudsens at Kekaha, and I shall never forget the ride from Eleele to their home. It was before the great improvement was made in the roads and the red dust was deep, impalpable and penetrating. A bath with three changes of water did not eliminate it from the pores of my skin, or my hair, and my hosts, the Knudsens, laughed when, like David Harum, I apologized for the state of the towels. They comforted me by saying that when I reached home my pillows would show for weeks where I had been. I have since heard the story of the Kauai man who made a journey round the world, and on reaching San Francisco, on his way home, he took a Turkish bath. When he was rubbed down the man said, "You are from Kauai, sir." "How do you know?" "I can tell from the color of the dirt. I was there once myself."

After calling on people all over the Island and baptizing several children, I decided that it was not wise to enter the field at that time.

In 1906, on another visit, I baptized several children. I was then, and on many other occasions, the guest of George N. Wilcox and Mr. and Mrs. Samuel W. Wilcox. Mrs. S. W. Wilcox was a Lyman, the daughter of the American missionary at Hilo. Her brother, David B. Lyman, was for many years an eminent and honored Churchman of the Diocese of Chicago.

At the Wilcox residence I have spent many delightful days. In the evenings, sitting on the lanai, many stories of old Hawaii were heard. George N. Wilcox is a man of few

words and one incident, which he related, illustrates his quiet manner.

Years ago a teacher, in conversation with him, scoffed at the idea of the Hawaiians getting fire from the friction of wood. "It is ridiculous, it cannot be done," he said.

Mr. Wilcox did not argue the point, but in the days which followed, he procured the kinds of wood which in his youth he had seen the natives use in the operation. Having all arranged, and having tried out the material, when a favorable opportunity presented itself, he casually told the teacher that he had something he wished to show him, and with this he led him towards a shed where, everything being ready, Mr. Wilcox rapidly manipulated the wood in native style and soon had a blaze. The teacher turned away without a word. Mr. Wilcox did not need to talk, he had proved his case by action.

Perhaps the best model camp, or village, for laborers which I have seen on the Islands, is on Grove Farm, the Wilcox plantation. Neat detached residences, comfortably arranged, with running water, each with its yard, with sanitary arrangements and bath houses for groups, and many other conveniences, all make a model village. There is a store and a hall for moving pictures and other entertainments.

Since 1902, there has been a great advance made all over the Islands in the housing of laborers and such improvements were certainly needed.

On this visit, and on subsequent ones, the Union Church at Lihue was kindly placed at my disposal for services. The Holy Communion was celebrated and a goodly number communicated. At that time a large proportion of attendants at this Union Church belonged to us. The Communion vessels were given to me by Mrs. B. H. Buckingham of Washington, D. C., who in 1909 offered to build a church on the

Island at a cost of $5,000, but it was not considered wise to take advantage of the offer at that time.

In 1909 arrangements were made to send a clergyman to Kauai once each month, and this was carried out for some years. The first one appointed for this work was the Rev. W. S. Short. He, and those who followed him, held services at Eleele, Koloa, Kilauea, and Lihue. Mr. Short was succeeded by the Rev. Frank Saylor and when he left, the Rev. L. H. Tracy took the duty in 1915.

While the services of our clergy were attended by Christians of all denominations, yet a carefully prepared list showed that we had more white people as members than any other religious body. There were known to be one hundred baptized souls belonging to us, of whom over sixty had been confirmed. I resolved, if possible, to meet the need of a resident clergyman.

In August, 1916, knowing that the independent Union Church at Waimea was without a pastor, I entered into correspondence with the trustees and proposed to send a man to take the position. The proposal which I made was this:

First, that the clergyman sent should be pastor of the Union Church and should on Sundays at 11 a. m. conduct a service in the manner to which the people were accustomed.

Second, it should be agreed that at all celebrations of the Holy Communion, and in the administration of baptism, the order of the Book of Common Prayer should be used.

Third, that at any time on Sunday, other than at 11 a. m., and on week days, the clergyman should be free to hold services at such places as he might deem advisable, using the Prayer Book.

Fourth, that the trustees should pay the clergyman the stipend given to their former pastor, and I was to pay him $600 a year in addition to this from money sent by the Board of Missions, in consideration of his missionary work outside of Waimea.

It was explained to the trustees by me that while all Christians would acknowledge a clergyman of this Church as being an ordained man, yet our people on Kauai held that the sacraments should be administered to them by one having Episcopal ordination. It was further explained that this Church tolerated a wide difference in opinion and practice and would gladly minister to all who desired its services.

The trustees accepted my proposal and entered into an agreement to that effect. The Rev. Marcos E. Carver, who had formerly been a Methodist minister, was called to the work and his tact and conduct towards all Christians has made the arrangement most satisfactory to all concerned. This was a notable experiment in Christian union.

The trustees, as time went on, largely increased Mr. Carver's salary and have been generous to him in many ways.

For the journeys about the Island a motor car had to be provided and I was able, by the gift of a friend, to secure one. From the beginning, Mr. Carver held several services on Sundays and on week days. He has had schools for religious instruction at a number of places on week days. On one visit which I made we had service at three points on Sunday and at others during the week.

It has been a peculiar and difficult work which Mr. Carver has done, and it has entailed long journeys and consequent fatigue, but the roads are now excellent. When the Ford car wore out, the people replaced it with a better one, and in every way they have shown their regard and appreciation of his services and those of Mrs. Carver, his faithful and energetic helpmeet, who accompanies him on all his journeys and plays the organ at all the services and assists in every way possible.

At Lihue, where there are a number of communicants, Mr. J. H. Hall fitted up a fully appointed chapel in his house, where the Holy Communion was regularly celebrated until he left Kauai.

Mr. Carver has always longed for a church building he could call his own and it is hoped that his desire will be fulfilled. He has prepared classes for confirmation on several occasions, and has baptized many children.

CHAPTER XL

THE HONOLULU BRANCH OF THE WOMAN'S AUXILIARY. THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD WAR.

The District Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary deserves special mention, as it has contributed largely to the development of missionary spirit and giving for the spread of Christ's Kingdom.

One of the first things to which attention was given in 1902 was that of placing the Island Church in line with the organizations and methods prevailing in the Church on the Mainland. The Anglican Church in Hawaii had been founded, fostered and largely supported by the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, commonly called the S. P. G.

In Honolulu there had been collections taken annually for this Society at Christmas time, but there was no local missionary organization, and no systematic efforts to bring the matter of missions before the people, so that the amount received was small. As far as can be ascertained, the sums collected were never over one hundred dollars.

On September 23, 1902, a meeting of St. Andrew's Guild was called to consider the formation of a branch of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions. Three women present had been, by long experience, familiar with the work of the organization. These were Mrs. L. F. Folsom, Deaconess Drant and Mrs. Restarick. The purpose, the national character, and the methods, were explained at length and it was resolved unanimously to form a branch.

It was judged best to make all members of the Guild, members of the Woman's Auxiliary also. This was done in order to interest as large a number of women as possible. The plan adopted was to have the women meet as the Guild

for parish work, and when its business was transacted by its officers, the meeting resolved itself into a branch of the Woman's Auxiliary with another president and set of officers. This method had proved most successful in many places on the Mainland and it worked well at the Cathedral parish until the time came when the business of each organization demanded a whole afternoon, when it was decided to meet separately.

The idea of making the whole Guild the Woman's Auxiliary also, was later adopted in the various parishes and missions, as in many stations there were not enough women for separate organizations. In some of the smaller missions, the Guild met as the Woman's Auxiliary for missionary work and instruction during Lent, and this plan proved satisfactory and was productive of good results. The Guilds generally followed the example of St. Andrew's in resolving to devote ten per cent of their net income from entertainments or sales of work to the Woman's Auxiliary to provide funds for mission work.

At the First Annual Convocation of the Missionary District of Honolulu, a preliminary Diocesan meeting of the Woman's Auxiliary was held on November 20, 1902. After discussion the adoption of a Constitution and By-laws was postponed for a year, but in order that work might go on, Mrs. T. Clive Davies was appointed Secretary and Mrs. J. H. Soper, Treasurer. Papers on mission work were read by Miss Marie von Holt, Mrs. John Usborne and Deaconess Drant. The Rev. Kong Yin Tet made an address on "Work for the Chinese."

The Second Annual Meeting was held on January 25, 1904, and the Secretary reported that at the end of 1903 four parochial branches were in existence, viz., St. Andrew's, St. Clement's, St. Peter's and St. Augustine's, Kohala. A Junior branch had been formed at the Priory. The total membership was about 150.

The Secretary emphasized the importance of the study of missions, for "indifference comes from ignorance." One hundred mite boxes had been distributed to one hundred women, the proceeds to be for the Triennial United Thank Offering of the Woman's Auxiliary, to be presented in October, 1904, in Boston, for the training, support and pension of women workers under the General Board of Missions. She also spoke of the need of "Babies' Branches" such as were in existence all over the United States

The Treasurer reported that the total contributions of the branches in the Islands for 1903, in cash and value of boxes, amounted to $636.86, including $197.45 for the United Thank Offering.

The Bishop, acting under the Constitution adopted at this meeting, appointed Mrs. Alexander Mackintosh, President, Mrs. J. H. Soper, Treasurer, and on the resignation of Mrs. T. Clive Davies, due to contemplated absence, Miss H. E. A. Castle was made Secretary.

At this meeting, and for several years following, the Guilds also made reports, so that all might know what the women were doing in this new Missionary District. In this, the example of the well organized Diocese of Montana was followed. At this meeting and at some subsequent ones, each Guild and Auxiliary made its individual report, but later, only a summary of the work of all the Guilds was presented in order to save time.

Six Guilds made reports for the year 1903: St. Andrew's, St. Andrew's Hawaiian, St. Clement's, Good Shepherd (Wailuku), St. Augustine's (Kohala), and St. James (Hilo). The total of woman's work in the District was as follows:

The Guilds	$3,971.00
The Woman's Auxiliary	636.86
On hand for Cathedral Altar	233.00
Total	$4,840.86

This early history has been given at some length that the origin and methods of the District Branch of the Woman's Auxiliary may be understood and its development noted, changes being made as time went on, according to conditions and increase of branches.

From the first there was a steady growth until, as soon as practicable, every parish and mission had a branch. In 1905 the Annual Meeting was held at the new St. Elizabeth's, and for the next two years, at St. Clement's, but from that time to the present it has been held at the Cathedral. In 1906 one hundred delegates and visitors were present.

Junior branches were soon organized at the Cathedral, St. Peter's and the Priory, and later, in connection with the Hawaiian Congregation, the Epiphany, St. Mary's, St. Mark's, St. Elizabeth's, Trinity and Holy Innocents', Lahaina. These did good work, the Hawaiian Juniors being for two years the banner branch, raising money for several scholarships. In 1919 the total for the Junior branches showed cash gifts of $1,381, and their box work was $77.30. In later years there has been a noticeable falling off in the work of the Juniors, owing to lack of leadership.

The Annual Meetings were always marked by earnestness and enthusiasm and did much towards arousing an interest in Church extension. Nearly every year some special work was emphasized and often large amounts were raised for different objects. The Hilo parsonage, St. Andrew's Priory building, the Lahaina parsonage, St. Peter's Church, the Kula Mission, and the Cluett House, received substantial aid. In 1919 they gave the Cluett House $2,844 for extensive improvements in the building. A committee of the Auxiliary one year raised $8,000 for the building fund of St. Mary's Mission.

The amount sent for the Triennial Thank Offering increased with each period until in 1919 no less than $940 was forwarded.

The Diocesan Presidents have been capable women. Mrs. Mackintosh, the first, died soon after appointment. Then followed Miss Marie von Holt, Mrs. John Usborne, Miss Ethelwyn Castle, Mrs. Arthur G. Smith. In 1913 Mrs. H. M. von Holt was appointed and held the office to the satisfaction of all for ten years. Much of the work falls upon the Secretaries and these have been most efficient. They have been Mrs. T. Clive Davies, Miss Ethelwyn Castle, Mrs. B. P. Steven, Mrs. W. L. Moore, Mrs. J. A. Dominis, and Mrs. W. A. Wall.

Mrs. J. H. Soper was the first Treasurer, followed by Mrs. B. L. Marx, who for fourteen years did a work which received the gratitude of all. Her able successor is Mrs. T. E. Wall.

In 1915 the District Branch felt it had outgrown the simple organization under which it had worked and a new Constitution and By-laws were adopted, which were modeled after those found useful on the Mainland. This entailed the appointment of several new secretaries for the various departments created. It was also felt that the District Branch should publish its annual report. Up to this time only a brief review had been printed at the end of the Convention journal. The preparation of this fell upon the Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. H. B. Restarick, who for seven years got out these printed reports, had charge of the Box Work of the District and was also directress of the Altar Department.

To mention the names of all the women who have given time and energy to the work of the Auxiliary would occupy more space than can be given here, but too much could not be said of the helpfulness of the parochial and diocesan officers and workers and of the harmonious way in which the organization has grown and prospered.

From 1902 until 1920, that is eighteen years, its total gifts have amounted to $42,968, or $2,777 per annum, and

from $636, in 1902, to $7,563 in 1916, which was remarkable considering the drain caused by war work. In the ten years from 1910 to 1920, the yearly average was $3,346. These sums do not include all that was collected by special committees of the Auxiliary, when money did not pass through the hands of the Treasurer.

It would be impossible to tell of the value of the helpfulness and encouragement given to a Bishop by the earnest, faithful women of the Auxiliary and the organization has been not only a practical but a spiritual and unifying agency in Hawaii.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD WAR.

When the war broke out in 1914, President Wilson called Christians to assemble and pray for peace. Agreeable to this, a service was arranged, and in the sermon I took the ground that while we should do everything in private and in public that would make for peace as individuals and as a nation, yet we should be prepared to resist wrong, injustice and cruelty by force, if necessary, that is, if other means failed. That God had given men strength to defend their homes, their wives and children and to protect themselves, and we were justified in using that strength, and if dangers arose we should prepare to meet them. That the principle should be carried out in national life. That when Christ said he did not come to bring peace but a sword, he spoke of the duty to struggle for the right and to overcome the powers of darkness by force, if other efforts failed, and that we must be prepared to do the same.

At that time there were pulpits in Honolulu where extreme pacifism was preached, and my position won many friends among those who believed as I did. A month after the declaration of war, Mrs. W. L. Emory at a Guild meeting started a fund for children in the war countries, and on the "Christmas Ship" presents to the value of $1,600 were sent.

Miss Margaret Catton raised enough money to pay the passage of four nurses from Honolulu to London. Her father, Robert Catton, Senior Warden of the Cathedral, raised nearly $30,000 for the Prince of Wales National Relief Fund.

Many Churchwomen joining with others in groups, made and sent through the Red Cross a very large number of garments, bandages, surgical dressings, etc. Mrs. Joseph Emerson, a communicant of St. Clement's Church, who had been educated in Bruges, did a remarkable work. By instituting Belgian Days she had raised by the end of 1917, $18,000. She provided god-mothers for 232 Belgian soldiers and for them raised $5,426, and as a Christmas present to the Queen of the Belgians she sent $2,082. In clothing she had sent by the same year 1,200 pounds weight and provided at a cost of $4,000 a "Creche de Hawaii."

At Christ Church, Kona, as a center, there was regular and extensive work for the Red Cross all through the war.

In a paper on War Work in Hawaii, Miss Marie von Holt had the following: "During Lent, 1915, St. Andrew's Guild met in the Davies Memorial Building and made hospital shirts, as they did also in Lent, 1916. In June, 1916, under Mrs. Restarick, was formed a Vacation War Relief Unit and a large case of garments was forwarded for the American-French wounded. In August two cases of surgical dressings and garments were sent and in September two very large cases containing bolts of gauze, shirts and comfort bags. In October, 1916, the work had grown so that units were formed all over the city, and in November there were packed at the Cathedral 17 cases, valued at $3,500.

"By this time the work had grown so that the Hawaiian Allied Relief Committee was formed, and all work was sent to the War Relief Clearing House for France and her Allies, San Francisco. In September, 1917, this Committee became an auxiliary of the American Red Cross, but

before that time, the cases sent were valued at $50,000. In money the Committee had raised $154,000."

Our people in Hawaii did their full share, taking a leading part from the beginning, and continued to do so when the Hawaiian Chapter of the American Red Cross was formed. By the end of 1917, the Hawaiian Chapter had 16,650 members and a higher proportion of life members than any State in the Union. Red Cross Units were formed in every Island, in all of which our people had their full share.

One of our clergy, the Rev. J. Knox Bodel, was the chairman of the Hilo branch of the American Red Cross, and Chaplain of the Hawaiian National Guard, and later, was appointed Chaplain in the regular Army. Another, the Rev. F. B. Eteson, went into war work. Every parish and mission had its young men in the American or British Army or Navy.

A Service Flag was prepared by Mrs. Restarick for the Cathedral, following the practice of churches on the Mainland, with a star for each man in the service, showing that we had given our quota of boys to the cause. The red stars were for those who had entered the British service, the blue, for the Americans, and the gold for the seven who had made the supreme sacrifice.

A Memorial Tablet should be placed in the Cathedral to those sons of the Church in Hawaii, who gave all, for God, for Country and Humanity, their names, as far as could be ascertained, being: *James H. R. Bryant, Archibald Bal, *Henry Henley Chapman, Richard B. Catton, Frederick Char, Ivan Montrose Graham and *Ah Pau Kau.

The news of the Armistice reached Honolulu at a late hour, the night before the Armistice was signed, due to the difference in time, and the Cathedral bell was rung to announce the fact. As soon as possible arrangements were

*Killed in action.

made for a great union service which was held at Central Union Church, and later, on Thanksgiving Day, a wonderful service was held at the Cathedral.

CHAPTER XLI.

RESIGNATION.

Having undergone two serious operations and having suffered from several severe illnesses, followed by persistent insomnia, in 1920 I determined to resign my jurisdiction of the Missionary District of Honolulu. The work which had been a joy had become a burden.

I had been long of the opinion that the Church would do well to set an age limit at which Bishops should automatically retire. This had been impressed upon me by the fact that I had seen several Dioceses suffer greatly from having Bishops hold on when a younger man could do the work better.

I wrote to the Presiding Bishop, my old and dear friend, the Right Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle, D.D., and tendered my resignation. In taking this course, I felt that the work which I had set out to do had been largely accomplished. Many of my old friends, who had most generously aided me by their gifts, were dead, and I felt that a new man with new connections could now carry on the administration of the District better than I.

When my resignation was made public, I received many letters from Bishops and others expressing regret and sorrow. Resolutions were passed by the House of Bishops and other bodies, of the most kindly and appreciative character. In Honolulu similar resolutions were adopted by Church organizations. The Council of Advice sent me the following:

"Council of Advice, Missionary District of Honolulu.

"Honolulu, Hawaii.

"The Right Reverend, the Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

"This council of advice of the missionary district of Honolulu has duly received and acknowledged your recent

letter informing us of the tendered resignation of our beloved friend and pastor, the Right Reverend Henry Bond Restarick, D.D., as Bishop of Honolulu.

"We now again address you that we may place on record some appreciation of the effective service which he has rendered in Hawaii to the Church and the community at large.

"Bishop Restarick arrived in Honolulu in August, 1902. The Church in Hawaii, previously autonomous, though affiliated with the Church of England, was found weak in numbers and poor in resources, with a limited sphere of influence as compared with other local Christian bodies.

"During the 18 years of his leadership, while the population of the Islands has grown 40 per cent, the members of the Church have increased 400 per cent. The clergy now number 22 as against 7, and the Church property has increased sevenfold. While the development of the Church during the 18 years of his splendid service may be partly visualized by a study of statistics, there exists also an unseen spiritual growth in the lives of very many men and women, boys and girls, who have been touched and influenced in the grace of God by the life and words of one who has always given of himself unsparingly that the work might not falter.

"His ripe intellectuality, his wide and deep culture and experience, his rich, ready and accurate knowledge and sound sense and judgment, coupled with a rare gift of expression, have always kept the work advancing, while he has endeared himself generally to men and women of many nationalities and beliefs, and to those without church affiliations. He has been a sterling contributor to community life and has retained therein, especially during the war, a unique position of leadership as a trusted exponent of Christian ideals and citizenship and patriotic duty. His contribution to the cause of Christian unity has been concrete and distinctive and his work has often gained the coöperation of ministers and Christians of every name in the Territory, many of

whom, as well as transient observers, have extended to him constant sympathy and extraordinary gifts of money for the extension of the work under his charge.

DEFENDER OF EARLY WORKERS

"Always a close student of Hawaiian history, he is an authority on the religious and social development of the Islands, and has stood firmly with other leaders of opinion in righteous and successful defense of the early Christian missionaries from unwarranted attacks in press or speech.

"The associations between the Bishop and the clergy have been hallowed through his unfailing, devoted service through all to all, and now, when the weight of years and of infirmities incident to long labor in a tropic land have led our constant friend and guide to lay down the burdens of his sacred office, we can but express this inadequate appreciation of the inspirational life of great accomplishment which has been lived among us by a child of, and a father in, God.

"Faithfully yours,

"W. AULT, President.

"H. M. VON HOLT, Secretary.

"LELAND H. TRACY,

"JOHN GUILD,

"J. KNOX BODEL,

"L. T. PECK,

"Council of Advice of the Missionary District of Honolulu.

"H. M. VON HOLT, Secretary."

The Honolulu Ad Club through its President sent me the following:

Nov. 23, 1920.

Dear Bishop Restarick:

Just a few lines to express our sincere regret and deep appreciation of your notable community service in Hawaii, over a period of eighteen years. We are all grateful for

your many civic and spiritual contributions to the upbuilding of a better Hawaii. Your noble influence will be felt here in many fields and for many years to come. You have brought spiritual enrichment and vision to Hawaii, and we deeply regret that these splendid labors of love and service are to terminate.

With our aloha, respect and gratitude, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) VAUGHAN MacCAUGHEY.

The Ad Club then consisted of about 450 of the business men of Honolulu.

From the hosts of letters received, I give an extract of one from a family representing a son and daughter of the early Congregational missionaries.

Jan. 4, 1921.

"My dear Bishop Restarick:

We appreciate your thought of us in your Christmas letter. . . . You have become so much a part of the life and thought of the Islands, understood and appreciated in such a wonderfully comprehending way their past and present, and the personalities and lives of their people, and identified yourself with the leading and best interests here to such an extent, that it is with sincere regret we see you having to lay aside the cares and burdens of your leadership."

The following resolution was adopted by the House of Bishops at the Special Session at St. Louis on October 27, 1920:

"Resolved, that we place on record our profound gratitude to Bishop Restarick for the splendidly self-forgetful and remarkably efficient work which he has done on behalf of the Church in the Hawaiian Islands."

Attest:

GEORGE F. NELSON,

Secretary.

JOHN D. LA MOTHE, D. D.
Bishop of Honolulu.

I find on looking over the clergy list that there are fourteen living American Bishops who have resigned their jurisdictions and no less than seventy-two English and colonial Bishops still living who have taken the same step.

I can not end this book, which has in it so much of the personal element, without acknowledging the innumerable kindnesses shown to me and mine.

The cordial reception on arrival, and the confidence and coöperation extended to me by the people in all my undertakings, has given me much happiness.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of our marriage, in 1907, my wife and I were given a reception at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, and were surprised when presented with a large number of silver gifts, which are among our most treasured possessions.

It is impossible to enumerate the many other and continued helpful kindnesses shown to me and my family, not only by our own Church people, but by the good people of the Islands. All these are precious memories which will go with us to the end.

On my retirement, friends in Hawaii purchased a house, which is to be held by me and my wife during our life time, the upkeep of the property, taxes and insurance to be paid by me. Here in a pleasant home on a quiet street, near St. Clement's Church, at seventy years of age, relieved from the responsibilities of office, I have, thank God, recovered my health and strength in a remarkable degree.

Attending St. Clement's Church, I assist each Sunday and substitute when the Rector is absent. I keep busy, chiefly in the study of history, particularly that relating to Hawaii, and in writing historical articles for publication. I rejoice in the fact that the leadership of the Church has fallen upon one who, with health and vigor, is carrying on the work of building upon the foundations laid.

My successor, the Rt. Rev. John D. LaMothe, arrived in

Honolulu on August 16, 1921. A short time after my resignation, the Presiding Bishop had appointed me to take full charge of the District, and when Bishop La Mothe was consecrated and at his request, I had been in charge until his coming, which was delayed by the serious illness of his daughter.

Taking up his duties at once, and continuing the work with consecration, ability and energy, Church matters have gone forward admirably with no great changes. New people have come, and there is a forward movement, especially to the amount given to Missions, which has increased in a remarkable way. Nothing could give me greater pleasure than to see the manner in which the clergy and laity have given their loyal support to Bishop LaMothe, and I earnestly pray that his episcopate may be blessed and prospered abundantly.

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